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Soviet-U.S. Arms Commission Session Opens

LD1109183490 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Geneva September 11 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. Standing Consultative Commission began its regular session here today.

The commission was established in accordance with the memorandum of agreement of December 21, 1972 between the Soviet Union and the United States to promote the implementation of aims and provisions of agreements between the Soviet Union and United States on limitation of strategic weapons and measures to lessen the danger of nuclear war.

Chemical Troops Officer on Efforts for CW Pact

PM1209154790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General I.B. Yevstafyev, "chief of a chemical troops directorate," by correspondent Major M. Pogorelyy: "What Is Going To Happen to Chemical Weapons"; place and date not given]

[Text] In connection with the likelihood of chemical weapons being used in the event of an armed conflict in the Persian Gulf area the view has been expressed in the West recently that work in Geneva on elaborating a convention prohibiting the development, production, and stockpiling of these weapons has virtually come to a halt. A KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent asked Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor Major General I.B. Yevstafyev, chief of a chemical troops directorate, to comment on these assertions.

[Yevstafyev] Work on a draft convention is continuing in Geneva, although I am sure that the possible use of chemical weapons in the Near East would largely cancel out the efforts that the participants in the talks have made so far. All the parties involved in the conflict must be aware of this.

A large circle of participants are active at the talks, and naturally it is not easy to satisfy everybody's interests. According to Western data, around 20 countries around the world possess chemical weapons of one kind or another or the potential to produce them.

I do not think that a definitive agreement is achievable this or even next year. But a great deal of work has been done in Geneva to date and there are no grounds for pessimism.

[Pogorelyy] So there are good results to show as well?

[Yevstafyev] There have already been definite successes. I would primarily like to note the bilateral agreement signed by the USSR and U.S. presidents in Washington on 1 July (it will come into force after it is ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress). This document defines practical measures for a drastic—80 percent—reduction in the sides' chemical potentials.

[Pogorelyy] Could you talk in greater detail about the quantitative aspects of this agreement?

[Yevstafyev] The sides pledge to start destroying chemical weapons stockpiles not later than 31 December 1992 and to possess by the end of 1995 the capacity to eliminate at least 1,000 tonnes of combat toxins per year. At least 50 percent of stockpiles have to be eliminated by 31 December 1999 so that after the year 2002 the USSR and the United States will have left no more than 5,000 tonnes of toxins each. Incidentally the sides have agreed that if a future convention stipulates more stringent demands and timetables priority will be given to a multilateral agreement.

[Pogorelyy] An agreement has been signed. So will we be able to start eliminating chemical weapons in the USSR after it is ratified?

[Yevstafyev] A considerable number of problems lie in wait for us along this path. First it is necessary to create the facilities for their elimination, to determine how they are to be destroyed and where.

The Americans are already embarking on this process. They are going to eliminate their toxins primarily at the actual storage sites (with the exception of bases located in Europe). For us that option is unacceptable.

In embarking on the elimination of chemical weapons we consider it extremely important to take account of the psychological factor—people's views and feelings.

In the past no particular heed was paid to the "human factor." As a result the first such facility, near Chapayevsk, was converted by a USSR Council of Ministers decision into a training center since it failed to fulfill its original purpose. Close cooperation with soviet organs and the local public is essential.

The USSR Ministry of Defense is proposing the creation of a limited number of automated facilities—one or two, or a maximum of three—where chemical weapons could be brought from their storage sites to be destroyed. We consider it advisable for such facilities to be sited in sparsely populated areas away from zones of intensive agriculture. Incidentally, they cannot be infinitely remote from railroad lines or sources of energy and water.

[Pogorelyy] Judging by the amount of work to be done it will not be cheap to eliminate chemical weapons....

[Yevstafyev] It is indeed more expensive to eliminate these weapons than it is to develop and store them. Even the above-mentioned Chapayevsk facility, which has a relatively small capacity (it was envisaged that it would destroy up to 500 tonnes of toxins per year) cost 50 million rubles. Another factor is that 60-70 percent of the cost of a destruction facility goes on monitoring and ecological safety measures.

Overall we estimate that we are talking about several billion rubles. This alone emphasizes the need to adopt a

state program defining the tasks of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the State Committee for Protection of the Environment, the Ministry of Railways, and other bodies. The Ministry of Defense has submitted a draft program to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Pogorelyy] So might U.S. experience and elements of their technology be utilized?

[Yevstafyev] It is somewhat easier for the Americans. First, the United States started tackling this problem much earlier than we did. Second, they have a substantial legislative base making it possible to rapidly decide questions relating to the elimination of chemical weapons. Third, as I have already mentioned, the plan in the United States is for them to be destroyed at the actual storage sites. And almost half the U.S. stockpiles of combat toxins are concentrated in the arsenal at the Tooele base. So only chemical munitions stockpiled in Europe need to be transported. All the other storage and destruction facilities correspond in principle with the stringent requirements made of them.

As for the technology, we are convinced after making a comparison that there are rational elements on both sides. We regard as promising, for example, the option adopted in the U.S. Army of direct combustion of toxins at high temperatures. But there are also objective differences explaining variations in the makeup of the stockpiles. We have a predominance of Lewisite, which the United States does not have, not to mention mustard gas, sarin, soman, and VX.

[Pogorelyy] Igor Borisovich, were these problems discussed during the visits by Soviet specialists to the United States and American specialists to the USSR?

[Yevstafyev] Two of the three visits on each side envisaged by the Wyoming memorandum of 1989 have taken place. They have a different objective: working out a mechanism for monitoring the practical fulfillment of the agreement on the prohibition of the development and stockpiling of combat toxins. Whereas things are simpler when it comes to stockpiling and even production, you can imagine what it means to investigate all the chemical laboratories in a country!

In addition, the 1990 agreement is one of the first stipulating that any facility on the territory of a partner-state can be inspected without the right of refusal. As you will understand, this is extremely difficult from a technical viewpoint. There is also the problem of preserving commercial secrets, to which inspectors will have access, like it or not.

It has to be said that nevertheless definite experience has been gained: the visit by participants in the Geneva talks to Shikhany in 1987, their familiarization with our arsenal of standard munitions, the visit to Chapayevsk by U.S. Congressmen B. Stemp and L. Hopkins, the trial national inspections at chemical weapon storage and production facilities.

Incidentally, there was a meeting between U.S. congressmen and USSR people's deputies in August. A package of questions linked with the elimination of chemical weapons was discussed. I consider this very important since a solution to questions of their destruction is inconceivable without the participation of the legislative organs of the country and the republics (primarily the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], where all eight of our storage facilities are located).

[Pogorelyy] Nevertheless many of our readers are worried that chemical warfare might be possible today.

[Yevstafyev] I wish to stress that Iraq is a party to the 1925 Geneva convention banning the use of chemical weapons and is represented as an observer at the current Geneva talks.

But there is a definite danger that in the event of unfavorable developments and the evolution of the conflict into a military conflict chemical weapons could be used. Especially since, as experience shows, for a number of reasons the effectiveness of the use of combat toxins in the Near East is relatively great. But this same experience shows that the heaviest losses are incurred not by troops but by the civilian population.

Nevertheless it is to be hoped that reason will triumph and that people in both Iraq and other countries that have been dragged into the conflict are aware of all the extremely grave consequences of the possible use of chemical weapons. Apart from everything else, this also lowers the threshold of the use of other types of mass-destruction weapons, including nuclear weapons.

It is still not too late to bar the way to chemical warfare. Possibly sanctions against violators of international agreements should be worked out and a system of aid to probable victims of the use of chemical weapons should be determined. In any event, only by mobilizing the entire world public can the threat of chemical warfare be eliminated.

Gorbachev Receives GDR's De Maiziere

LD1209195490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev received Lothar de Maiziere, prime minister and foreign minister of the GDR, who is in Moscow for the final meeting of the two-plus-four foreign ministers. Questions connected with the GDR's coming accession to the area covered by the FRG's Basic Law or constitution, in accordance with a decision by the GDR People's Chamber, were touched on during the conversation.

PRAVDA Reports Meeting

PM1309101990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Conversation With L. de Maiziere"]

[Text] On 12 September M.S. Gorbachev received GDR Prime Minister and Foreign Minister L. de Maiziere, who is in Moscow in connection with the final foreign ministers' meeting within the framework of the "two-plus-four" mechanism.

Questions linked with the GDR's entry into the sphere of operation of the FRG Basic Law (constitution) in accordance with a People's Chamber decision were touched on in the course of the conversation. The significance for shaping a new atmosphere in the center of Europe of the final international legal settlement on questions of building German unity that has been signed was stressed.

Here it was noted that the process of adjustment by the GDR and its citizens to the new conditions will not be easy. L. de Maiziere said that this process involves the demolition of many pillars in the republic and views and habits among its citizens. But life is not changed by decisions. The GDR is following the path chosen by its citizens.

M.S. Gorbachev noted that in past years the GDR has made a tremendous contribution to building relations of trust and cooperation between our peoples. The participants in the conversation were unanimous that the capital accumulated in mutual relations in the most diverse spheres must be placed at the service of the active onward development of partnership between a united Germany and the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Confers With FRG's Genscher

LD1209192590 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today conferred with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who arrived in Moscow to sign a treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany.

It was noted during the talk that a major step of historic importance was taken. The foreign elements of the German unification were settled on the reliable and sound foundation.

A treaty on good neighbourliness, partnership and cooperation between the USSR and the future united Germany will be initialed on Thursday. This treaty will give new quality to bilateral relations, the situation in Europe and the world. A host of important bilateral treaties and agreements will also be signed soon.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the time of the Cold War is past. Old pages in Soviet-German relations are turned and new pages are opened. Thanks to joint efforts, bilateral relations are acquiring a new quality.

Shevardnadze Receives Genscher Letter

LD1209144190 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told reporters today about a letter received from his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher on succession to rights as regards treaties earlier signed by East Germany with the USSR and other countries.

Speaking here at a joint news conference with the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and East Germany, he said the letter will be included in the ratification process.

The letter also settles the issue of preserving monuments to victims of struggle against fascism in Germany and clearly states the inadmissibility of activities by parties and organisations sharing Nazi views.

Shevardnadze Discusses Unification Document

LD1209144790 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The agreement on the final settlement of the German issue, signed today, is "significant and aimed for the future document," said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

He said the agreement resolving all the range of foreign aspects of German unification is based on the legal interests of all participants.

Shevardnadze, together with the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, France, West and East Germany, attended a news conference here today.

The agreement finally draws a line under World War II, Shevardnadze said. "I am sure that we have completed a

good deal and found the right solution. From now on, European and world history, in their important component, will develop along a new route," he said.

The minister noted the historic importance of the document, which "creates a reliable basis for constructive participation of a peace-loving democratic united Germany in the life of the European and world community of states and peoples for as far ahead as we can see."

Speaking of the work done by participants in the "two plus four" mechanism, Shevardnadze said: "The tasks set before us have been fulfilled. Joint work within the framework of the 'Six' is being highly evaluated. It has given us unique political experience, which we will undoubtedly need in future."

Highlights Military Issues

LD1209161490 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The treaty on the final settlement around Germany signed today reliably defines all aspects of the border issue, identifies the future borders of a united Germany and records the rejection of any territorial claims, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told a news conference here today. He told the news conference, he was holding together with the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany and the German Democratic Republic, that on instructions from the six the Soviet side will officially hand the text of the treaty to the Polish Government.

The Soviet minister said that the agreements on military-political matters made up the most important component of the treaty.

"The treaty confirms the West and East German Governments' commitments to peace, their rejection of production, possession and disposal of mass annihilation weapons," Shevardnadze said.

"It also envisages cutting the number of troops in the united Germany down to 370,000 within the next three to four years".

According to the Soviet foreign minster, the treaty stipulates that the Soviet Union and the united Germany will negotiate a treaty to identify the terms and conditions of the Soviet Armed Force presence on East German territory and the conditions for their withdrawal before the end of 1994.

Shevardnadze pointed to the treaty provisions relating to the military political status of the present East German territory. They envisage that prior to the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, only German territorial defence forces, not integrate into NATO, will be deployed there. [sentence as received]

After the Soviet Union has withdrawn all its troops, other German troops will be allowed to deploy there, excepting nuclear arms carriers.

Foreign troops and nuclear weapons or their carriers will not be permitted to deploy in this part of Germany.

Shevardnadze also pointed out that the new treaty was to replace the rights and duties of the four powers. "Naturally this will only happen following the treaty's going into effect—after its ratification," he stressed.

Notes 'Historical Moment'

LD1209183490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1542 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 September (TASS)—Speaking at the news conference here today Eduard Shevardnadze said:

I should like to start by stating that 12 September will go down in history as a noteworthy date in many respects for Europe and for international life as a whole. We are living through a truly moving historical moment. The ministers of foreign affairs of the six countries have, in the presence of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, just signed a treaty on a final settlement regarding Germany, which contains decisions on the entire complex of the foreign aspects of German unity. A definitive line has been drawn under the results of World War II and time has begun to be calculated anew.

Only seven months have passed since the day the Ottawa accord that set up the "two-plus-four" mechanism of talks was adopted. These months have been packed with intensive work. I think that at the start of our journey, none of the participants in the "six" even imagined that we would reach the final stretch as early as September. Our initial positions were too disparate, many barriers seemed insurmountable, and on occasion there was not enough trust or mutual understanding.

However, we did find the strength to begin moving toward one another, which also meant moving forwards, toward agreement.

The meetings of the ministers of foreign affairs of the "six" in Bonn, Berlin, and Paris gave real impetus to the process of the talks.

The deciding breakthrough came, however, during the July talks between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor Kohl, when solutions across the entire range of military and political issues were found in Moscow and Stavropol.

I am not going to hide the fact that difficult discussions on certain military and political aspects continued to the very end, literally the very end. However, in the final analysis we were able to overcome these last hurdles as well.

The result of our efforts is the document we are presenting today. In our view the treaty is a success. It is a weighty and comprehensive document. Taking into

account and balancing the legitimate interests of all sides involved constitute its basis. It is a document aimed at the future. It conveys our joint vision of the constructive role and place the future Germany will have under the resolutions of the treaty in the Europe of the end of the 20th, and the beginning of the 21st century.

How can the contents of the treaty be summarized in brief?

It consists of a weighty political preamble and 10 articles. The treaty regulates all aspects of the border issue. They are being regulated very reliably. The borders of the united Germany are determined and the renunciation of all territorial claims is set down. I would like to note in particular that the article on the borders was specially examined at the meeting of the "six" in Paris on 17 July this year. This meeting was attended by K. Skubiszewski, foreign minister of the Republic of Poland, who approved its content.

I would like to say in this connection that on the ministers' instructions, the Soviet side is officially handing over the text of this treaty to the Government of Poland.

The agreements on military-political matters constitute a vital component of the document.

The obligations of the FRG and GDR Governments to the effect that only peace will issue from German land and their rejection of the production, possession, and deployment of weapons of mass destruction are solemnly confirmed. It is envisioned that the numbers of the armed forces of a united Germany will be reduced to 370,000 men in three to four years.

The treaty spells out that the Soviet Union and a united Germany will settle, through a treaty procedure, the conditions and time-scale regarding the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of the present GDR, as well as the conditions for their withdrawal before the end of 1994.

I wish to draw attention to the treaty stipulations concerning the military-political status of the present territory of the GDR. They envisage, specifically, that, prior to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, exclusively German territorial defense formations, not integrated into NATO, will be stationed on the territory of the present GDR. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, other formations of the German Army may also be stationed on the territory of the present GDR, but without nuclear weapon delivery systems. Foreign troops and nuclear weapons or their delivery systems may not be stationed in that part of Germany.

The new treaty replaces the rights and responsibilities of the four powers. Understandably, this will take place from the moment the treaty comes into force. It will take place when it has been ratified.

I would like to dwell in particular on one issue of importance in principle. It is no secret that the "German" question has always, for understandable reasons, been a sensitive one for our people and for all the peoples of Europe. There are apprehensions, and quite widespread ones, that the interests of our country might suffer as a result of the German settlement and its security might be damaged. We took these apprehensions into account in drafting the treaty on a final settlement over Germany, as well as the whole aspect of bilateral accords with the unified Germany. I think we managed to get all the necessary guarantees and pledges in accordance with the real conditions and situation in Europe.

But this is only one side of the coin. One cannot live only in the past. One ought to look to the future, and proceed from the existing realities and prospects for the development of the international situation. The fact that we are dealing with a new Germany, which has learned lessons from its history, is one of these realities. One cannot fail to see that the epoch of "the cold war" and bloc confrontation is becoming a thing of the past. The face of the European continent is changing before our very eyes. Realistic prerequisites are arising for building the security of the European peoples on a new basis and within the framework of all-European structures. We are close to getting down to the practical formation of these. I think that taking all these into consideration, the Soviet public has no grounds for anxiety.

Allow me also to inform you that we have received a letter from Mr. Genscher in connection with the rights and succession regarding the treaties previously concluded between the GDR, the USSR and other countries. It will be included in the ratification process by the sides. This same letter also regulates important questions, such as the inviolability in Germany of monuments and memorials to the victims of the struggle against fascism, and also contains precise statements about the activities of parties and organizations with national socialist aims being impermissible. In conclusion I would like to stress once again the historic significance of the document signed, which creates a reliable basis for constructive participation by a peace-loving democratic unified Germany in the life of the European world community of states and peoples for the entire foreseeable future.

As was agreed from the very outset, the treaty on the final international juridical settlement of the external aspects of German unity will be submitted to the summit conference of the CSCE. This will be done by the French side.

I think that I have every ground for expressing satisfaction, on behalf of my colleagues who participated in the "two-plus-four" mechanism, with the outcome of the work completed. The tasks we were set have been carried out in full. It is also of great value that the joint work in the context of the "six" has given us unique political experience, which will without doubt be of use in the future.

I would also like to express hope that the results of the work of the "six" and the treaty itself on the final settlement over Germany will be met with approval by the participants in the CSCE process.

I take advantage of this occasion to wish the German people success, well-being, and prosperity in the context of the new, unified Germany.

May I thank all those who have made a specific contribution to the drafting of the treaty and the countries which have offered hospitality to the meetings in the framework of the "two-plus-four" mechanism, and the journalists, for their committed and objective coverage of our many-faceted and complicated work.

There is one thing I would like to say in conclusion. From today European and world history will be developing along a new channel, opened up for it by this treaty, as far as one of its major components is concerned.

I am confident that we have done the right thing and that the right solution has been found. The generations which come after us will say that we acted wisely and responsibly. I think that this feeling is shared by my colleagues and by all who have applied their brains, knowledge, and hearts to this treaty.

Talks To Conclude in 'Few Days'

LD1209184690 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"A big treaty laying down the main principles of building relations between the USSR and the future united Germany was prepared by joint efforts," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said at a joint news conference of the foreign minister of the USSR, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and the GDR held here today in connection with the signing of a treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany to Moscow.

Answering journalists' questions, Shevardnadze noted that the foreign ministers of the USSR, West Germany and the GDR would initial this treaty on Thursday.

Shevardnadze said that other documents that were now being elaborated covered economic cooperation, science, technology and other areas as well as some financial and economic relations in connection with Soviet troop withdrawal and those troops' status in conditions of the united Germany.

"All these issues are discussed very actively. I think that the talks will be completed in the next few days. We can express satisfaction with the dynamic, pace and quality of the work that had already been accomplished in building new relations," Shevardnadze added.

"The treaty that is scheduled to be initialed on Thursday underlines our states' intention to open broader vistas for relations between them after the German unification," West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said, in turn. He pointed to the importance of Soviet-German relations to the development of Europe.

Genscher said that in addition to the big treaty, the two countries would sign another three treaties. In his view, this range of documents creates a sound foundation for future Soviet-German relations.

GDR Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Lothar de Maiziere recalled a whole number of treaties between the GDR and the Soviet Union. In this regard, he emphasized that all treaties, including the treaty on the unification with West Germany, specify that all international agreements should be preserved. These documents should be revised so that the commitments assumed by the GDR and West Germany either switch to the united Germany or be changed in a respective way.

Shevardnadze's Remarks Summarized

LD1209152190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A treaty was signed in Moscow today on the final settlement of the external aspects of the process of the unification of Germany. The ministers of six states—the two German states of the FRG and the GDR, and also the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France—signed the treaty. The ministers' news conference is presently in progress in the Oktyabrskaya Hotel in Moscow and in subsequent bulletins of the latest news and the Mayak Panorma, we will tell you about it in more detail.

At the beginning of the news conference our country's Foreign Minister Shevardnadze spoke. What did Comrade Shevardnadze say? I will put this question to my colleague, Mayak diplomatic correspondent Aleksey Kalachev. He is working at this meeting, and has literally just walked into the studio. The news conference is still continuing, so he is not missing anything important. Well, what was important? Please tell us.

[Kalachev] Hello. In essence, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, in his brief 10-minute introduction at the news conference, summed up all the work that has been done in the two-plus-four talks. You will understand that it is extremely difficult to do this in the space of 10 minutes, because a huge amount of work has been done in the course of seven months. He said that 12 September will be a landmark in the history of Europe and in the history of the world in general. Present at the signing of the treaty was Soviet President Gorbachev and the treaty encompassed the entire complex of issues connected with the unification of Germany. A line has been drawn under the results of World War II, the Soviet minister said. A new era has begun. Just seven months have passed, as I have said, and as Eduard Amvrosiyevich said at the news conference, since the moment when the two-plus-four negotiating mechanism was set up in Canada, in Ottawa. At that time no one, of course, could

anticipate that a treaty would be signed by the present time. The differences in the positions of the parties were too strong at that time, in the beginning. The foreign ministers met three times, in Bonn, Berlin, and Paris. Finally, at the June talks between our country's President Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor Kohl, solutions were finally found to the most important vexing questions in the treaty. This document has materialized, the Soviet minister said. At the heart of the document lies a due account and balance of the interests of all sides, a common vision of the place that will be taken by the unified Germany in Europe on the threshold of the third millennium. [passage omitted]

During elaboration of the treaty it proved possible to obtain all the necessary conditions for a guarantee of security, both for Germany and for all the states of Europe, I would like to stress. The Soviet minister spoke of this separately. He went on to say that the prerequisites are now emerging for building a new Europe. It is gratifying, as was noted at the news conference, not only by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze but also by his colleagues, that everyone was fully satisfied with the document that was signed; all the tasks it had entailed have been fulfilled.

[Announcer] To sum up: the treaty is all-encompassing and complete, and satisfies everyone.

[Kalachev] Exactly, Igor Pavlovich. Of course it is. I repeat that the news conference is still continuing and I was quoting from the remarks by our country's Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, who, at the request of his colleagues from the five other countries, summed up the whole of the negotiating process. This treaty opens the way to the unification of Germany, the date of which will be 3 October.

German Leaders Express 'Satisfaction' on Treaty

LD1209174990 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"With the signing of this treaty that demonstrated the good will of all participants, the united Germany gains sovereignty over its internal and foreign affairs. We perceive this sovereignty as a duty to Europe," West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said at a joint news conference of the six-nation foreign ministers held here upon the signing of a treaty on the final settlement with respect of Germany.

Genscher expressed gratitude to the presidents of the USSR, the United States, France and to the British prime minister for their contribution to the implementation of this process.

"Germans want their new unity to serve peace," Genscher said. "In the treaty that we conclude, we Germans affirm that only peace will emanate from German soil. The united Germany's policy will be defined by the commitment to peace, formulated in the West German Constitution and in the unification treaty.

"We will make our contribution to peace and stability in Europe in this spirit. The state unity of Germany signifies a great responsibility for us rather than a desire for greater power," Genscher emphasized.

"Our common task is to establish a new European order. Our relations with East European neighbours and especially the Soviet Union are assuming new importance. The bulky treaty that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and I will initial in Moscow will serve all the aforesaid. This is a day of joy, a day of memory and gratitude for us," Genscher said.

German Democratic Republic Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Lothar de Maiziere said, in turn: "The German unity overwhelms the GDR residents and me personally with joy and satisfaction. The treaty is an historic document that adds a stone to the foundation of the edifice of a new Europe. Overcoming the division of Germany helps eliminate the polarization of Europe. Today, Europe is entering its age of peaceableness, trust and good neighbourliness."

De Maiziere expressed confidence that the future united Germany would begin developing its relations with East European neighbours even more intensively.

Hamburg DPA Reports Treaty

LD1309075290 Hamburg DPA in German 0719 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—One day after the two-plus-four treaty on the external aspects of German unity was signed the FRG and the Soviet Union have signed a "Comprehensive Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Partnership, and Cooperation" in Moscow today. [passage omitted]

The treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR comprises 22 articles and agrees on close future cooperation in all areas. It is regarded as an umbrella to the economic treaty, the (financial) transitionary treaty, and the treaty on the stationing and withdrawal of troops.

Both sides renounce force and territorial claims and commit themselves to solve their disputes by peaceful means. In addition, regular consultations are agreed. German-Soviet summits are to take place at least once a year.

Shevardnadze Discusses Treaty on Moscow TV

LD1209221190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent B. Beletskiy; place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Beletskiy] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, how do you evaluate the importance of this event, the completion of the series of two-plus-four talks?

[Shevardnadze] As historic. It was an extremely important event...

[Beletskiy, interrupting] After all, it...

[Shevardnadze, interrupting] In the history of Europe and the world as a whole, of great significance to the destiny of the European peoples and to us, Soviet citizens, the Soviet people. This question is very important. I think we have arrived at the right solution, one that is well-weighed and justified, as far as the external aspects of building German unity are concerned. We are building... [changes thought] We have already embarked on the practical stage of this work.

A treaty, an important treaty, will be signed, rather, initialed, tomorrow. It deals with the principles of relations between the united Germany and the Soviet Union.

In general, structures and an atmosphere are being formed which are in keeping with our interests, our national interests, the interests of all the peoples of the soviet union, on the one hand, and the interests of all european states, on the other.

But one needs to bear in mind one other thing: These fundamentally important and highly complex decisions, the adoption of these decisions, were made possible by the changes which have taken place in Europe and are taking place in the world. I have in mind the new political thinking, the principles on which the new foreign policy of the Soviet Union is based.

You may have noticed that in their speeches, both at our official two-plus-four meeting and at the views conference, my colleagues placed special emphasis on the positive significance of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union, the process proclaimed by the Soviet leadership. They forthrightly pointed out that the unification of Germany and the positive processes taking place in Europe, including the eastern part of our continent, were made possible by the new foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

[Beletskiy] Has the work to prepare this document helped in any way to strengthen bilateral relations or mutual understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union?

[Shevardnadze] It has to be stated directly that we worked in an atmosphere of good mutual understanding. I think I can say this without exaggeration. The machinery for regular consultations with the United States, as with Mr. Genscher, with the leader of the GDR, with Britan, France, and so on, operated effectively.

Clearly, we have had a unique experience, which will also stand us in good stead when we view it from the point of further development and improvment of Soviet-U.S. cooperation and our relations. [Beletksiy] Thank you.

TASS Cites Baker on German Treaty Signing

LD1209174490 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"Forty-five years after the end of World War Two, we have finally got the political arithmetic right: Two plus four adds up to one Germany in a Europe that is whole and free," U.S. Secretary James Baker said, summing up the results of the work done by the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to prepare the German unification treaty signed in Moscow today.

He was speaking after the signing ceremony at a joint news conference attended by the signatories from other five countries. Baker described the signing of the treaty as "a rendezvous with history", a great historic event.

He said the success of the treaty was ensured by the commitment of the negotiators to a search for a solution in keeping with the will of the peoples. He said the lesson should be learned by the whole world, as it needs it badly.

Baker also stressed the importance of the fact that the two-plus four talks have ushered in a new rhetoric—with words openness, cooperation, and partnership replacing the cold war rhetoric with its confrontation, secrecy and antagonism.

Replying to questions from journalists, Baker said that German reunification would contribute to European unification.

Baker, Shevardnadze Resume Talks in Moscow

LD1309112190 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 13 Sep 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August [as received] 13 TASS—Talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker have just resumed in a Soviet Foreign Ministry mansion in central Moscow.

The ministers started their talks on Tuesday but broke them of on Wednesday to participate in the final "two plus four" meeting. The treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany was signed during the meeting.

The heads of the foreign policy agencies of the USSR and the U.S. are expected to continue to discuss the working out of an agreement on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. A Central

American settlement may also be discussed. Both these questions have been debated by experts in Moscow in the past two days.

Before the beginning of the talks, Shevardnadze told reporters that the results of the work of the experts on questions of the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe will be summed up today.

Baker added that the discussion of the gulf crisis, of strategic offensive arms and some other problems will be continued.

The talks began a one-to-one conversation between Shevardnadze and Baker.

Review Baltic Issues

LD1209203990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Report by ELTA correspondent Balys Bucelis in Moscow]

[Text] At an evening press conference, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, replying to a question on whether he could comment on the problems raised by the Baltic republics, emphasized in his reply that these problems are the Soviet Union's internal affair.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, somewhat contradicting Shevardnadze, added that the United States has never recognized the inclusion of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union's structure. However, he added, this press conference [words indistinct] as one concerning German problems and not those of the Baltics. [passage indistinct]

However, the problem [words indistinct] will always be topical in Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn. That problem is considerably more [word indistinct] than the USSR economy. The subject under discussion is the self-sufficiency [savarankiskuma] of the Baltic states.

Discuss Palestinian Issue

LD1209193490 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Addressing a news conference here today upon the completion of the "two-plus-four" meeting, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that the United States had never ruled out and did not rule out now the possibility of using an international conference to settle the Palestinian question.

Asked if the foreign ministers now in Moscow were prepared to solve collaboratively the Palestinian problem at the United Nations as the Gulf crisis is being solved, Baker noted that over some time it would possibly be right to begin this process within the framework of the group of five permanent members of the Security Council.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze added that the Palestinian problem was discussed very thoroughly at the Soviet- U.S. working summit in Helsinki. He said the sides reached the understanding that active consultations would be started at some stage to advance a global settlement of the Middle Eastern problem.

Shevardnadze said that this question was also discussed at Tuesday's meeting with Baker. According to Shevardnadze, they reached the conclusion that work has to be intensified both on the bilateral and multilateral basis to remove the dangers and threats existing in the Middle East and achieve a just solution to the Palestinian question.

Agree on CSCE Summit Issues

LD1209201490 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Wojciechowicz, Aleksandr Kanishchev, Sergey Ryabikin and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, September 12 TASS—German unification will undoubtedly facilitate the development of the European process and quicken the formation of European security structures, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told a joint news conference attended by the six foreign ministers after signing a German unification treaty in Moscow today.

U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker agreed with Shevardnadze and stressed that the treaty would make an important contribution to ending confrontation and tension. The risk of an armed conflict in Europe will recede into the past, he said.

James Baker was asked if the United States was willing to withdraw the consideration of [words indistinct] framework of the agreement on the reduction of troops and conventional arms in Europe in order to facilitate finalizing this agreement for its signing during the forthcoming CSCE summit in Paris in November.

He replied that the U.S. viewpoint was that it would be very important to sign this agreement in order to hold a CSCE summit. The U.S. position remains unchanged—it is advisable to hold a CSCE summit only upon reaching a conventional arms agreement, Baker explained.

The agreed provisions could provide the basis for major and important accords in the field of conventional arms, he said.

Noting that sides continued to differ substantially on the air forces, Baker pointed out that the United States would like to see these differences overcome in order to include the air forces in the conventional arms agreement. The United States favour [word indistinct] this agreement anyway, he said.

He ruled out the possibility of the U.S. unilaterally favouring the withdrawal of the air forces from the framework of the agreement without preliminary consultations with its NATO allies.

Shevardnadze agreed with Baker in stressing that the forthcoming CSCE summit should focus on signing an agreement on the reduction of troops and conventional arms in Europe.

"A considerable path has been traversed, many problems have been solved, but many complicated problems still await solution," he said.

The Soviet foreign minister added that the dialogue with the U.S. Secretary of State, which began on Tuesday within the framework of the Soviet-American talks on these matters, will continue.

He also said that the Soviet delegation to Vienna talks would unveil new Soviet proposals one of these days. He expressed confidence that work to finalise the agreement on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe would be completed before the Paris CSCE summit.

Asked about prospects for cutting American troops in Europe to a level below that agreed to by the Soviet Union and the United States in Ottawa, Baker said that the United States had plans to continue discussions of the matter not only with the Soviet Union but also with its allies, as well as within the administration. This problem has not yet been solved, he said.

Shevardnadze confirmed that the Soviet-American dialogue concerning this issue would continue on Thursday, and would probably be dealt with during his personal conversations with James Baker.

Shevardnadze also spoke about the legal and financial aspects of Soviet withdrawal from Germany. He said these matters were being settled in a manner that was substantial and satisfactory both to the Soviet and German sides.

"We are discussing these issues in a quiet and serious atmosphere and the negotiations are nearing completion," he stressed.

Genscher Initials Partnership Treaty With USSR

LD1309074490 Hamburg DPA in German 0700 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—In Moscow this morning federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze initialed the "Comprehensive Treaty on Good Neighborliness, Partnership, and Cooperation Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR." It regulates the future relationship between the Soviet Union and united Germany. Agreement was reached on the accord at a meeting between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Caucasus in mid-July.

In a short address Genscher paid tribute to the significance of the treaty. "We can now rightly say that the postwar period has come to an end," he said. The treaty marks the start of a new European development and is a "contribution to a lasting peace partnership."

Shevardnadze Explains Treaty

LD1309103690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Sep (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, described the Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Partnership, and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG initialed here today by himself and West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher as "a landmark document in its spirit and content." Subsequently, the treaty will be signed by the leaders of the Soviet Union and a united Germany. It will determine the development of mutual relations between the USSR and Germany for years ahead. The document is called upon to place relations between the two countries on a qualitatively new level.

Speaking at the solemn initialing ceremony, Eduard Shervardnadze stated that a great historic deed had been done, and that henceforth broad horizons and opportunities lay before Soviet-German cooperation. Through common efforts it had proved possible to produce an exceptionally substantial landmark document in its spirit and content. In it a firm choice is made in favor of good-neighborliness, partnership, trust, and mutual understanding. This meets the fundamental interests of both peoples, he stressed. The treaty defines security issues for the two states in a new way. In particular, it excludes the use of Armed Forces against each other and the rendering of military aid to an attacker if one of the sides were to become an object of an aggression.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted that relations between a united Germany and the Soviet Union would be "more than just the sum of the USSR's relations with both German states." The German side links with this treaty traditions of fruitful cooperation, he said. At the same time it draws conclusions from history and acts on the basis of its responsibility. In Hans-Dietrich Genscher's opinion, cooperation in the field of politics, economics, culture, ecology, and in the social sphere serves the good of both sides and will promote an acceleration of the process of change in the Soviet Union.

Issue Joint Statement

LD1309103690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Sep (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, described the Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Partnership, and Cooperation between the USSR and the FRG initialled here today by

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Pact 'Not Very Enthusiastic' on Arms Reductions

LD1209203790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2039 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Report by Bratislava Correspondent A. Samylin; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Great changes in Europe entail changes in the entire structure of the Warsaw Pact. The Main task of this session is to determine who has to reduce weapons and hardware and in what quantities. The GDR will soon be merely an observer: the unification of Germany lies ahead.

But the other countries, as became clear, are not very enthusiastic about reduction. Each shows more concern about its future security. Warsaw Pact General Secretary Pan Matejka does not consider the meeting a particular success. True, it was possible to draw up a draft agreement, but filling it with figures was left for the next meeting in Prague. Time will tell whether or not this will be achieved. If not, obstacles at the Vienna talks may arise.

North Atlantic Assembly Delegation Arrives

LD1209151690 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Bezbrezhniy]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—A delegation from the North Atlantic Assembly has arrived in the Soviet Union on a fact-finding mission, head of the delegation Jan Petersen said.

The delegation is mainly interested in getting firsthand information on political reforms in the Soviet Union, he said.

On Wednesday, the delegation was received at the Soviet Parliaments International Affairs Committee. Deputy Committee Chairman Anatoliy Ananyev and other deputies outlined the Soviet position on a number of issues, including the full ban on nuclear tests.

Soviet and West European participants have agreed that interaction between the Soviet parliament and the North Atlantic Assembly is necessary and possible in the name of building a new Europe, a continent of peace and cooperation.

Iraqi Stance Seen as Challenging, Unreasonable

LD1209155290 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS political analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The Soviet parliament's support for President Gorbachev's stand on the Gulf crisis, its approval of the Helsinki summit joint statement and the congressional backing in the U.S. for President Bush's condemnation of Baghdad's aggressive actions are attracting much comment.

The attention riveted on these two events is not accidental. They are not ordinary debates or ritual parliamentary procedures. The Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress have discussed this extremely important international issue and their conclusion show that the policy of the two national leaders, who have firmly proclaimed their adherence to the letter and spirit of the U.N. Charter and resolutely condemned aggression, rests on the active support of their parliaments and public opinion. The reaction of various countries shows that the stand of Moscow and Washington is in keeping with the mood of the overwhelming majority of United Nations members.

This is extra proof that Baghdad has set itself practically against the entire world community by invading Kuwait, that the Soviet Union, the United States and other nations are resolved to do everything they can to put an end by political means to sovereign Kuwait's occupation and to restore its lawful government. The recently adopted joint Soviet-American statement says that aggression cannot and will not yield benefits.

Baghdad's position is becoming increasingly challenging and unreasonable in this light. Its recent calls for a "holy war", which were denounced even in the Moslem world, its detention of hostages and attempts to undermine U.N. economic sanctions by "free of charge" oil deliveries, as well as other similar actions can hardly be described as politically reasonable. It is now absolutely obvious that the occupation of Kuwait did not facilitate but rather complicated the solution of other problems in the region, including the Palestinian issue, by diverting public opinion from them.

The statements made in connection with the Gulf crisis during the session of the Soviet parliament and the U.S. Congress clearly show that there is only one way out of the crisis: the restoration of Kuwait's independence.

The presidents of the two great powers noted in Helsinki that they were ready to consider additional measures, conforming to the U.N. Charter, if the present steps did not stop the aggression. Isn't it clear into what a dangerous corner Baghdad has driven itself by refusing to break the deadlock? The resolution of the USSR parliament on the Soviet Union's stand in connection with the Gulf situation, just as the debate on this problem in the U.S. Congress, are a serious signal, which the Baghdad leadership would do well to heed.

CPSU's Brutents Outlines 'New World Order'

PM1209153990 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Sep 90 (MAGASIN section) p 1

[Report on undated interview with CPSU Central Committee International Department Chief Karen Brutents by Flemming Rose: "The Soviet Union Holds a Sale"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Karen Brutents, 66, is of Armenian descent but was born and grew up in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku. Since 1976 Brutents has been head of the International Department, where he was responsible for the Middle East and Latin America. According to Mette Skak, who is an expert on Soviet policy and a researcher at Aarhus University, Brutents has played a prominent role in the formulation of Soviet policy toward the rest of the world and still does, even though in formal terms the Communist Party no longer has control over foreign policy. "We have withdrawn from all state functions, but this does not mean that we do not have views on foreign policy, and the Central Committee still represents the party in all fields, including foreign policy," Brutents said in an exclusive interview with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

According to Brutents, the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy is founded on the recognition that power factors in the modern world have changed. "Today it is clear that economic factors are no less important than military factors. Take Germany and Japan, for example. Today they are leaders in international developments, even though their military potential is very limited."

Andrey Kortunov, who is an expert on international politics and works at the U.S. and Canada Institute, thinks that the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy has primarily had a destructive role: the breaking down of old ways of thinking and the dissolution of old alliances. "The foreign policy rhetoric of the last five years is hardly able to give us the answer to the question of the new Russia's role in the international arena."

Karen Brutents does not agree: "The United Nations has been brought to life; an old mechanism for regulating international relations is showing us for the first time what it is capable of. Just imagine what would have happened in the Gulf crisis if the United Nations did not exist, even in the event of agreement between the superpowers. The whole crisis could have become an Arab-U.S. conflict, as Saddam Husayn is trying to make it. The United Nations must be one of the cornerstones of the new world order and perhaps should have even wider powers than originally intended. But there is also a need for mechanisms and security structures which can supplement the United Nations—particularly regional structures. Here Europe is a step ahead of the rest of the world. In Europe we are already considering how new mechanisms can be set up, so that not only are walls torn down but new institutions are created."

[Rose] Several Soviet observers are concerned over the unreserved agreement which currently characterizes relations between the superpowers. They are positive toward it, but view it as something unnatural that hides important differences. What is your view of the situation?

[Brutents] The Gulf crisis is a test of the new world order. I am pleased to see that we have a situation in which it is relatively easy to reach agreement, but I would also like to stress that the situation is not easy for the Soviet Union. Nevertheless I believe that the new international atmosphere will overcome the current test. In the Kuwait crisis I can see for the first time the contours of a new world order in which no aggression can be allowed to pass unpunished. Naturally interests differ, but it is therefore all the more important that common interests push egoistic interests into the background. And the common interests of the international community can be formulated as follows: 1) Aggression must not bear fruit for any aggressor. 2) The aggressor must be punished; that is, the gains he has made as a result of his aggression must be taken from him. 3) The sovereignty of the state which was the target for the aggression must be reestablished. 4) International law must demonstrate its strength so that no one is tempted to behave in the same way.

[Rose] The internal dissolution of the Soviet Union and the growing political pluralism place a question mark against the continuity of Soviet foreign policy. In the light of this, is it not difficult to define the Soviet Union's national interests vis-a-vis the rest of the world?

[Brutents] First, I hope that the Soviet Union will not fragment and, second, I think that the republics which will remain in the union in some form or other will support the policy being pursued now. If we take the republic borders and leave aside the social, political, and religious divisions between groups in society, I cannot see any great difference in interests. In every single republic there are groups opposed to current policy—why did we give up Eastern Europe, accept German unification, withdraw from Afghanistan, and so on—but these groups are not an expression of differences in national interests.

At present the common interests of the individual nationalities in the Soviet Union are overshadowed by the strivings for independence and freedom. This is natural, but I believe that we are entering a period in which the interests of individual republics will give way to the shared economic fate which binds us together by thousands of threads.

[Rose] Most observers think that the Soviet Union is a faded superpower and that in the years to come the country will be so preoccupied with internal problems that there will not be the resources to play a major role in international politics. Do you agree with such a view?

[Brutents] I think that history is on our side, even though we find ourselves weakened at present. The fact is that we have abandoned those elements of our policy which make a superpower: the acquisition of arms, and ideological messianism whereby you try to force your values and way of life on others. But I do not think that we will be less active than we have been in the past; we will simply be active in a different way. We will not strive to extend our sphere of influence, but we will establish contacts with the countries with which we have no contacts today and furthermore we will normalize our relations with those countries with which we have disagreements. This applies to Japan, for example. We will also work to strengthen the international institutions.

[Rose] Will Germany not take over the role of Europe's new superpower?

[Brutents] Economically, yes, but politically I am not so sure, and also we are trying right now to establish structures within which it is not so important who plays first, second, or third fiddle. The new international institutions will be founded on consensus.

Borovik Discusses Peace Committee Past, Future

90UF0504A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 1-7 Sep 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with G. Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, playwright, and commentator, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent B. Stanishnev; place and date not given: "From Slogans—To Action"]

[Text] [Stanishnev] Genrikh Averyanovich, the results the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace (SKZM) has achieved in the four decades of its existence seem somewhat modest. Could this be due to the fact that in the past the SKZM in essence blindly followed "party and government policy," justifying the buildup of our military might and the sending of our forces into Afghanistan, etc., and wound up at a dead end?

[Borovik] It is not only the SKZM that wound up at a dead end, you understand, but our entire country, with all its institutions—public and state. First and foremost, the economy was led there by the efforts of many departments, including the defense ministry with its excessive expenditures, the true scope of which, as has become clear, none of us knew—not only those "below," but "above" as well.

[Stanishnev] You came to head the committee in 1987...

[Borovik] The important thing was to change the meaning of our movement—to effect transition from protecting the existing peace to constructing something new, to shift from the usual protest rallies to specific action which would reap tangible benefit. We constantly broadened our ties with peacemaking organizations abroad, not just quantitatively, but "qualitatively," so to speak—including organizations with which our relations had for many years been confrontational. Getting rid of the "enemy image," we carried out a whole series of open mass actions. The best known of these were the Soviet-American marches for peace, in which literally tens of thousands of people participated. Today such marches, or international concerts at stadiums, are a regular occurrence. But three years ago, when we (together with local committees) were conducting them for the first time, trying to overcome the deep- seated resistance of those unwilling to take risks—this was a real breakthrough to openness, to establishing friendly contacts, i.e., to a genuine "people's diplomacy" (it is at that precise time, incidentally, that this famous expression was born inside SKZM walls). Today we are seeking other forms of mass action. Last year, for example, together with the Murmansk KZM and Soviet Peace Foundation, we organized a Soviet-Scandinavian ecological symposium in which 1,500 Scandinavians and thousands of Soviet people participated. But this was not just a gathering of people—a package of joint ecological projects was drawn up there.

[Stanishnev] What did you find most difficult?

[Borovik] The most difficult thing was making the transition to specific deeds. The committee got accustomed to congresses and conferences, to appeals and resolutions. A great deal of energy was devoted to drawing up documents, although no one then read them.

Perhaps a turning point was January of 1988 when, together with the American Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, we initiated a practice of cooperation, new in

principle—developing and implementing joint affirmative projects (today there are about 300 of these underway). I will give just two examples.

The permanent Soviet-American Seminar on Protection of Human Rights. Its participants are seeking resolution of common problems.

Two groups of authoritative experts, headed by a former KGB official, retired General F. Shcherbak, and former CIA director W. Colby, under the aegis and at the initiative of the SKZM and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, are working together on the establishment of Soviet-American programs to combat international terrorism. Initial recommendations have already been sent by them to the governments of the two countries.

Meetings alone, exchanges of views alone—these are an already accomplished stage of today's "people's diplomacy." We need specific action. Our international concerts for charity, for example, have enabled us to begin a children's recovery center in Semipalatinsk and purchase the necessary imported equipment for it, to deliver hundreds of thousands of single-use syringes to children's hospitals in Minsk and Elista. Relations established as a result of joint marches and "peace weeks" in various countries have provided an opportunity for sending hundreds of Soviet children, victims of the Chernobyl catastrophe, for rest and treatment abroad (in the United States, Spain, Holland).

[Stanishnev] How do things stand regarding the distrust of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace which has been seen abroad?

[Borovik] We acquired an unpleasant "image," created by many years of propaganda not the most flattering to the SKZM, and indeed by the organization itself. But if Senator Edward Kennedy finds it necessary and important today to appear before the Soviet people in the SKZM building itself, and if the Vatican, for the first time in the entire history of relations with our country, sends an official invitation to none other than the SKZM to send a delegation for an audience with the Pope, and the conversation with His Holiness is entirely practical in nature and not just a matter of official niceties—on cooperation between church and Soviet peacemaking organizations, then I think you can say there has been a serious change of views toward the SKZM abroad.

It is noteworthy that people who are turning to our organization now to seek cooperation have not just political concerns, but business interests as well. In order to work with them, the Association for Business Cooperation was established under SKZM a year ago. Its near-term projects include assisting in establishing a joint enterprise with a major Canadian firm for production in the USSR of winter clothing made of down. We hope that in a year to a year-and-a-half hundreds of thousands (and then millions) of people will be able to throw away their repulsive quilted jackets and wear fashionable, light, warm (and inexpensive) jackets and coats.

[Stanishnev] So the SKZM is now engaged in economic activity as well?

[Borovik] We are proceeding from the premise that economic ties are the most effective guarantee of peace and cooperation. We are therefore helping to establish contacts between our own and foreign firms. The proceeds will be donated to children's hospitals.

[Stanishnev] What has the SKZM failed to achieve in perestroyka?

[Borovik] A great deal, unfortunately. It has turned out to be very difficult to arrange in the apparatus a combination of the professional experience so critically necessary, and working precision, on the one hand, with the essential burning light in the heart of each individual, on the other. The task is impossible without either one. But what is most bitter of all is sensing our own impotence, when there is bloodletting on our own soil and we can do nothing about it, though we call ourselves the Committee for the Defense of Peace.

[Stanishnev] Over the course of many years, for as long as I am aware, the SKZM has been more under the control of the CPSU Central Committee than of the public. Has anything changed?

[Borovik] I think that was the case with all all-Union social organizations, beginning with the society for the blind and going through, let us say, the "Znaniye" Society, whose organ is ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. All were subordinated to the party.

Today all questions, cadre and political, are decided by the social bureau of a presidium (consisting of a chairman and deputies—none of us receives a salary), and a secretariat. A great many peacemaking groups cooperate with the SKZM. We are happy, for example, that we have been able to help establish the new movement "Nevada-Semipalatinsk," which actively supports the cessation of nuclear testing. We are happy that we are the first in the country to set up a permanent dialogue with representatives of almost all groups that defend human rights. Such dialogue has now been initiated and is underway in SKZM between representatives of various political parties.

[Stanishnev] How do you regard the criticism of SKZM in the press, in particular that which appeared about two years ago concerning unethical behavior of certain individuals during trips abroad?

[Borovik] Those people who committed serious breaches of conduct are no longer working in the SKZM. Criticism was at first given a hostile reception. We were not accustomed to it—SKZM activity over the course of four decades was purely the object of official approval. Fair criticism, especially constructive criticism is to our benefit. But to mercenary, knowingly unscrupulous criticism we relate as one would to any immorality or lies.

[Stanishnev] Is it true that last year the organ of SKZM and the Soviet Peace Foundation—the magazine VEK

XX I MIR [The 20th Century and Peace]—came under threat of "break-up" because of the radical position of its editorial staff?

[Borovik] In March 1988, one of the high-level conferences of the CPSU Central Committee was to a significant degree devoted to criticism of the magazine. I protected VEK XX to the extent I could from devastation—there were many witnesses to this, including the editor in chief of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

Demands were later made that we close down the magazine, dismiss the editor in chief. We did not pursue this.

[Stanishnev] What are the near-term plans of the SKZM?

[Borovik] Here are just a few things going on these days. We met 100 kids, victims of the Chernobyl tragedy, and sent them home to Belorussia after a period of rest and recreation in the United States. The Soviet-German Peace Week begins 31 August. Visits will be made by 150 representatives of German social organizations to 20 of our cities. Then in Moscow a peace treaty will be concluded between the USSR community and Germany undergoing unification. At the end of August we begin, together with the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement, a campaign for concluding a treaty between parliamentarians of countries of the world on the banning of all nuclear weapons testing on the planet. We are readying a delegation of local committees for the defense of peace (250 people), which has been invited by our American partners (at their expense) to a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of D. Eisenhower.

The first proceeds have been delivered (over $80,000) from the sale abroad of a unique souvenir, the "disarmament ruble," issued by the SKZM and fashioned from the metal of Soviet R-12 missiles destroyed in accordance with the Treaty on Intermediate and Shorter Range Missiles. We intend to use this money to acquire medical equipment for children's hospitals in Gomel Oblast.

So goes every week.

Ahead lies an SKZM plenum, and then—an all-Union conference. This conference will examine new statutes and a new program for the entire movement.

UN Crime Prevention Congress Reported

90p50090 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS correspondents A. Borodin and S. Kutikov: "Against Crime"]

[Text] Havana, 8. (TASS correspondents A. Borodin and S. Kutikov). Can the world community forge ahead toward resolving the problem of crime? The majority of participants in the VIII UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Treatment, which ended here on Friday, answered affirmatively. They are of the unanimous opinion that there is not one country in the world that is strong enough to cope with this problem alone.

In a conversation with journalists, head of the Soviet delegation to the Congress and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Law and Order and the Struggle Against Crime Yu. V. Golik, noted that the priority tasks which our country's law enforcement organs have to resolve include the struggle against contraband and the drug trade. This is now being carried out taking into consideration the experience of other countries. He emphasized that in recent years the USSR KGB and MVD have been cooperating with similar organs in foreign countries in uncovering international crime, including the narcotics business.

The Soviet Union is taking only the first steps in the area of international cooperation in the struggle against crime, the parliamentarian pointed out. He informed us that a decision about USSR membership in Interpol would soon be made.

United States & Canada

Newspapers View Bush Speech to U.S. Congress

IZVESTIYA Reports

PM1309085190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Blinov: "Bush: New Partnership of Nations"]

[Text] Washington—On Tuesday evening U.S. President Bush delivered a speech containing an assessment of the international situation to a joint session of the two houses of Congress.

"As you know, I have just returned from a very productive meeting with President Gorbachev," G. Bush stated. "I am glad that we are building new relations by joint efforts. In the joint statement in Helsinki we confirmed to the whole world our mutual determination to counter the threat to peace created by Iraq."

"Now no dictator can expect East-West confrontation to undermine the UN's joint actions against aggression," the President said.

In his words, a "new partnership of nations has come about. We are living at a unique and unusual time. For all its gravity, the crisis in the Persian Gulf has at the same time created a rare opportunity to move toward a historic period of cooperation," the U.S. President said. "At this troubled time," Bush stated, "a new international order may be formed, a new era which is freer of terror, stronger in its desire for justice, and which more firmly ensures peace. An era in which the countries of the world, East and West, North and South, will be able to live in harmony and prosper."

Now, in the President's words, a new world is being born. A world very different from the one we have known. A world where right will reign, not the law of the jungle.

Referring to the current situation in the Persian Gulf, Bush reported that the warships from the United States and a number of other countries now stationed there are imposing a sea blockade against Iraq, viewing this is as fulfillment of the UN sanctions against trade with Iraq. They have already intercepted about 700 ships. In the assessment of leaders of countries in the region, Iraq has already begun to feel the effect of the trade blockade. It has been deprived of the opportunity to export oil and is receiving only a small part of the imports it needs. "We continue to hope that the Iraqi leaders will review their plans and will see what aggression has cost them."

Bush reported that events in the Gulf also have an economic price for the United States. In particular, military spending on maintaining the U.S. Armed Forces in the region is increasing. The rise in oil prices increases spending on energy production and slows economic growth. The federal budget deficit is threatening to exceed the planned limit.

President Bush urged Congress to adopt measures to reduce U.S. dependence on imported oil and establish order in the budget sphere. In his words, "America must not again be faced with a crisis situation—economic or military—in conditions where it is overly dependent on foreign oil and has an excessive federal debt burden."

PRAVDA Reports

PM1309093990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by V. Linnik under the rubric: "Persian Gulf": "G. Bush Addresses Congress"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Sep—The ceremony surrounding the President's address to a joint session of the U.S. Congress was as usual: First the cabinet members came in to applause, and then the audience greeted G. Bush himself with a standing ovation. In the upper visitors' gallery were the President's family and the wife of Vice President D. Quayle. Also present were foreign ambassadors, among whom the cameramen singled out one person in particular.

Whenever the U.S. President mentioned the name of Saddam Husayn—accompanied by extremely strong epithets—the cameras picked out the face of the Iraqi ambassador.

The President's speech consisted of two parts. The first was devoted to the conflict in the Persian Gulf, and the second to the White House's position on the currently developing interparty battles on the draft budget.

After a series of generous compliments to the U.S. soldiers and officers currently on combat duty in Saudi Arabia, the President again spelled out U.S. objectives—the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, the restoration of the Kuwaiti Government, and the maintenance of security in the Persian Gulf zone. U.S. citizens abroad must be defended, the President said.

He described the Iraqi attack on Kuwait in exceptionally sharp terms. The U.S. President did not attempt to conceal the obvious: The dependence of the United States itself on uninterrupted oil supplies from the Persian Gulf. Iraq controls 10 percent of world oil reserves; together with Kuwait, which it has seized, it will control twice that amount. "We cannot allow so much to be concentrated in the hands of one so ruthless," he stated.

G. Bush proclaimed as another objective the creation of a new world order, "a new era of freedom and security" in which "East and West, North and South will flourish and live in harmony." "I shared my vision of the future

with M.S. Gorbachev in Helsinki," the President noted, speaking highly of the results of his meeting with the Soviet leader.

The level of international cooperation in the response to the Iraqi aggression is unprecedented," G. Bush stated. "America and the entire world"—it was put in precisely that order—will not allow international law to be flouted or big states to devour small ones. "There is no substitute for American leadership," the President declared, and these words had a long-familiar tone to them. It was difficult to escape the feeling that compliments are now being bestowed on "the rest of the world" to the extent that on this occasion the rest of the world shares U.S. assessments and approaches.

The U.S. President ended his address to Congress on a remarkable note. If old adversaries—the USSR and the United States—have been able to overcome their differences, he said, representatives of the two parties in the country's legislative organ are in an even better position to do the same on the budget.

G. Bush's speech showed that his popularity today is probably at the highest level possible in two-party America. His actions in the Persian Gulf zone enjoy the Democrats' full support. This was confirmed by House Democratic majority leader R. Gephardt.

U.S. Mission Arrives To Develop Business Ties

PM1209150590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Ye. Piskunov: "Business Diplomats' Mission"]

[Text] For the first time in the history of bilateral relations a U.S. presidential business development mission has come to Moscow. It comprises the heads of 15 major U.S. corporations, such as Chevron, Texaco, and Pepsico, which means that it can be described as a major step in the sphere of business diplomacy between the two countries. The mission is headed by Robert Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce.

The mission began business talks immediately on its arrival from Helsinki following the meeting between the two countries' presidents. Robert Mosbacher met with USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations K. Katushev and mayor of Moscow G. Popov. On the same day he gave his first news conference, at which your IZVESTIYA correspondent was the lone Soviet press representative.

"Ours is a very busy schedule," R. Mosbacher noted. "A series of business meetings is planned with the key figures in Soviet perestroyka. They include M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, L. Abalkin, N. Ryzhkov, E. Shevardnadze, A. Sobchak...."

The purpose of the trip is to demonstrate the U.S. wish to develop trade relations and business cooperation with the Soviet Union. In accordance with proposals made by U.S. President G. Bush after the meetings with M.S. Gorbachev, several programs have been devised which should help the USSR in its transition to a market economy and deeper involvement in world economic integration.

The constructive, amicable approach to the development of Soviet-American business ties demonstrated by the U.S. commerce secretary is typical. The Jackson-Vanik amendment, which denies the USSR the right to most-favored-nation treatment, did resurface, of course. But, unlike in the past, it was mentioned in passing somehow. The focus of attention was the prospects for the development of bilateral relations; immediate and long-term.

The U.S. commerce secretary stressed again and again that the mission's main task is to attract U.S. businessmen's attention to programs to aid perestroyka; to demonstrate to American business circles the potential for trade with the USSR and the mutual advantages of investment in its economy.

Asked by your IZVESTIYA correspondent what specifically the Soviet Union can expect in the immediate future when the presidential commission has finished its work, R. Mosbacher gave the following reply:

"The USSR must see that G. Bush is keeping his promises to Soviet President M. Gorbachev concerning American aid for Soviet reforms. We are talking about technological assistance and investment in the Soviet economy. In many economic spheres your country has immense potential and is very attractive to U.S. business circles.

"Representatives of leading U.S. oil companies make up half of our delegation. During our visit there is to be a meeting on the energy industry with Soviet scientists and industrialists. It could be about the joint development of the enormous oil and gas fields in the USSR, many of which stand idle at the moment because of a lack of technology. Such cooperation would undoubtedly enable the Soviet Union to get the foreign currency it needs so badly. A wide area of cooperation is help for your country's agriculture and reorganization of the communications system. There are interesting business programs for cooperation in the construction industry sphere.

"Admittedly, our projects are still at the negotiation and discussion stage at the moment. But we would like the Soviet Union to know that U.S. business circles are genuinely interested in cooperation, in assisting Soviet reforms and M. Gorbachev's policy. These programs have powerful U.S. Government support."

China

Reports, Comments on Asian-Pacific Cooperation

Talks Continue on Forces Cuts

OW1309081190 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Commentary by Nikolayev; from the "World Today" program]

[Text] A new round of talks on mutual cuts in Armed Forces and on strengthening military trust on the Soviet-Chinese border will begin in Moscow on 10 September.

Station commentator Nikolayev has the following comment: Soviet-Chinese talks on this question began last year in accordance with an agreement reached at the Soviet-Chinese summit last year. However, the talks were preliminary. Now the talks are entering an entirely new stage. Governments on the two sides have reached an agreement that outlines guiding principles for such complicated work as eliminating military confrontation. Figures that became available not long ago gave people a rough idea of what a high price we have paid for our confrontation with China. We spent 200 billion rubles building the basic structures of this confrontation. Did anybody calculate these expenses or other intangible losses? Due largely to discord with our neighbors, many areas in the eastern USSR remain closed to the outside world, undeveloped, and backward to this day. It should be noted that money was not spent on development but on construction of military facilities along Soviet-Chinese borders. Hostility between China and the Soviet Union also posed a threat to the security of people of other nations and triggered an arms race and military conflicts in the region.

All in all, we are faced with a formidable task of eliminating this erstwhile mechanism. However, all signs indicate that both sides have the will and confidence to face up to the task. It should be noted that mutual cuts in Armed Forces and strengthening military trust on the Soviet-Chinese border will not only have military and political significance but also profound economic significance. This is quite obvious. By cutting arms on Soviet-Chinese borders we will be able to save hundreds of millions, or even billions, of rubles, over time. Naturally, new possibilities of developing Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation will also emerge. Viewed from the point of arranging future multilateral talks on easing military tensions and strengthening security among nations in the Asian-Pacific region, the experience of the Soviet Union and China will be very valuable. Moreover, not only the Soviet Union and China are moving in this direction; other nations in the region are also reducing, or have announced intentions to reduce, their Armed Forces. As things stand, the need to coordinate such activities is becoming increasingly urgent.

As for the Soviet Union, it has proposed on more than one occasion the establishment of a negotiating mechanism involving all Asian nations concerned. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze spoke of it in Vladivostok a few days ago. He called for the convocation of an Asian-Pacific conference in the near future to discuss urgent problems in that region. More vigorous action designed to settle conflicts and intensify bilateral contacts should be taken for the purpose of developing a multilateral negotiating mechanism. For instance, a conference of a group of countries that have major military forces could serve to start this process.

To discuss major issues in the Asian-Pacific region, the Soviet foreign minister also suggested that a meeting of foreign ministers from all Asian countries be convened in Vladivostok in 1993.

Chinese Delegate Comments

OW1309103290 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Remarks by Shi Min, deputy director of the Institute of Asian and Pacific Studies in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, at the International Conference on Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation for the Asian-Pacific Region in Vladivostok; date not given; from the "World Today" program—recorded]

[Text] Gorbachev's two speeches in Krasnoyarsk and Haishenwei [Vladivostok] further demonstrate that the party and Government of the Soviet Union attach importance to ties with the Asian-Pacific region. The speeches made 4 years ago led to the first Haishenwei conference two years ago. [words indistinct] the second Haishenwei conference is a continuation of the first one. In the Asian-Pacific region there are still some military conflicts and also other old issues awaiting further solution. For example, as pointed out by this conference, there is the confrontation between North and South on the Korean peninsula. For example, in Southeast Asia and (?India) there are still some complex questions awaiting further solution. After long years of military confrontation following the war between North and South in Korea, a dialogue has begun between them. Dialogue may go through a long process and may meet with difficulties, but any dialogue is better than no dialogue at all. Through dialogue both sides may find some common points. Why do we want dialogue? Because we are pragmatists, because there are still contradictions and conflicts. The situation would be more serious if there were military conflicts. It is a good thing that in many areas there are no more military conflicts, and dialogue has been used to prevent the danger of military conflicts. It is important that dialogue should continue in order to achieve stability and promote economic development in all fields.

There is another important matter in the Asian-Pacific region—the normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union. This is a great event for the two countries and also for the Asian-Pacific region and the

world. In his speech at the conference, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze also discussed this matter.

Politically, the normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union has created an important political condition for cooperation, peace, and stability in the Asian-Pacific region; economically speaking, both China and the Soviet Union are big countries, and speaking in terms of population, resources, and other fields, both countries have great potentialities.

In the world economy today, the level of trade cooperation cannot be called ideal, but it has been advancing fairly quickly, and there are good prospects for trade cooperation. The development of economic, trade, and technological cooperation between China and the Soviet Union is also an important part of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region as a whole. Therefore, economic cooperation between China and the Soviet Union will have great impact on cooperation in the (?northeast Asian region).

Railway Link With China Completed 12 Sep

Termed 'Railway of Friendship'

LD1209133690 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Isakov]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 12 TASS—The railway on the border stretch between the Druzhba station in the USSR and A-la Shan station in China was linked up today. The link-up launched traffic along the transcontinental "Railway of Friendship" conceived back in the 1950s.

This event crowned a great amount of work which had been suspended due to the aggravation of Sino-Soviet relations.

This work has now been completed thanks to growing friendship and cooperation between the two nations.

When the regular traffic begins in 1992, the journey between Moscow and Beijing will be 2,000 kilometers shorter than at present.

The rail route is expected to boost business, being shortest way between the Asia-Pacific region and Western Europe and the Middle East.

The railway will also help step up economic relations between Kazakhstan and the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous area in China.

Opening Celebrated

PM1309132390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent E. Matskevich: "'Great Railroad' Opened"]

[Text] Soviet-Chinese border—Soviet and Chinese railroads were linked up 12 September in the Dzungarian Gate region.

Members of the official delegations of both countries, guests of honor, representatives of the public, and construction and railroad workers were gathered at the Soviet-Chinese border on the morning of 12 September. After the linkup ceremony the two tracklayers who had laid the missing sections of the track joining the two states' railroads approached each other from, respectively, Alashankou Station on the Chinese side and Druzhba Station on the Russian.

"This event should have taken place back in the fifties, when the 300-kilometer branch line was constructed from Aktogay Station on the Turkestan-Siberian Railroad to Druzhba Station on the state border," commented N. Isingarin, chief of the Alma-Ata Railroad. "Because of well-known events the track on the other side was not brought up to the border. "It was only in December 1988 that an intergovernmental agreement on credit to complete construction was concluded, on the strength of which we have supplied China with rails, ties, commercial lumber, and equipment. The linkup has become a reality in under two years. On the Soviet side the track from Aktogay has been modernized, Druzhba Station refurbished, and the station's services put in order. On the Chinese side the missing 200-kilometer section of line to Alashankou Station was laid. The PRC has treated the revival of the main rail line, which our neighbors regard as a 'window on Europe,' with a sense of great responsibility. The track follows the ancient Great Silk Road. A whole series of modern stations has been constructed from Urumqi, capital of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, to our border."

In point of fact a trans-Asia main line, which could be called the "Great Railroad," is being opened. It constitutes the shortest rail route from Europe to central China—Beijing, Shanghai, and Hong Kong.

Chinese Metallurgy Delegation Visits

LD1109091990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] A five-day visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation from the PRC Ministry of Metallurgical Industry has begun. Our correspondent Albert Papayan reports from Beijing:

[Papayan] Local media are noting that the Chinese side has an interest in buying Soviet technology for working complex gold-bearing strata, which will make it possible to increase productivity of placer mines and reduce costs. The CHINA DAILY writes that the Chinese delegation's visit now beginning will enable Soviet-Chinese cooperation in gold extraction, which began two years ago, to be substantially stepped up. Prior to that time the two neighboring countries, which held leading world positions for gold extraction had no contacts whatsoever in this sphere.

It is also reported that the Soviet Union and China have agreed to mount an exhibition of Soviet gold-mining technology and equipment in Harbin, the administrative center of the northeastern province of Heilongjiang, in October this year. At the exhibition 16 Soviet specialists will exchange experience with Chinese counterparts and will discuss technical details for developing and expanding gold-mining cooperation.

Northeast Asia

Defense Minister Greets DPRK Counterpart

SK1209114790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 10 Sept 90

[From the "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] Army General Dmitriy Yazov, defense minister of the Soviet Union, congratulated O Chin-u, minister of the People's Armed Forces and vice marshal of the DPRK, on national day. In a congratulatory message, he wished O Chin-u and the Korean People's soldiers a new success in a work to strengthen national defense for the fatherland.

DPRK Envoy Holds Anniversary Banquet at Embassy

SK1209110790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 10 Sept 90

[From the "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] On the 42d anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, Kim Hui-su, DPRK charge d'affaires to the Soviet Union, hosted a banquet in the embassy on 7 September, to mark national day. Attending there were (?Ribu Sharim), acting chief of the Supreme Soviet Committee for State Security; Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers; (?Aleksandr Pilogov), deputy minister of foreign affairs; leaders of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; leaders of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society; and other figures.

Border Violations Off Kuril Islands Continue

90UF0520A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Yu. Samsonov with comments by Vice Admiral A. Shindyayev, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops: "Kuril Islands: Is the Border 'Secure?'"]

[Text] *Kuril Islands, Moscow—The border-guard patrol vessel Neman put out to sea, and soon an ordinary-looking metal diesel-fuel drum flopped into the water close to its hull. When the waves had carried it far enough away, the guns of the patrol vessel were set in motion and trained on the drum. Almost simultaneously with a command given by Senior Watch Officer Captain- Lieutenant A. Simonov the water in front of the drum was ripped apart by the first short burst of rounds, and then another one, and yet another one....*

Had the movie director, a character in the well-known novel by Leonid Sobolev "The Flying Dutchman," been on board at the time, he would have certainly asked:

"What is it? What do you call it?" They would have explained to the curious movie director that this is called preliminary firing before completing a training assignment. This included firing "on a violator vessel," in this case a drum, warning shots, and fire for effect. Perhaps they would have also added that in the course of the training Gunner's Mate Sailor M. Antropov was graded "good," and his comrade Petty Officer 2d Class V. Pavlov—"excellent." Had the above literary character also known the law "On the State Border of the USSR" he would hardly have been surprised by the fact that border guard vessels which carry weapons train to use them. After all, the law provides for this in certain cases. Looking at the precise and skilled actions of the sailors, he would have had no doubt as to their determination and ability to carry out all provisions of the law in question. Nonetheless, he would have been taken in by a myth, a beautiful and attractive myth to the effect that the borders of the state are inviolable.

Why do I believe this to be a myth? I was told at a naval border-guard unit, whose duty is to guard the border in the area of the South Kuril Islands, that between 3,000 and 5,000 illegal incursions into our waters occur here every year. To my mind, this is not exactly compatible with the notion of the inviolability of our borders. Incidentally, at issue is not just a principle but the quite tangible damage to our national wealth. After all, most of the violators are Japanese poachers who engage in illegal fishing in our waters.

What is happening? Why can we not protect our assets against banditry? After all, sailor-border guards are doing all they can. While trying to answer this question, we should specify what the violator vessels are. Relatively large schooners with a speed of approximately 18 knots account for a smaller segment of them. Seizing them in the event of a violation is not particularly difficult for the border guards.

Smaller fishing vessels of the "Kawasaki" type are much more of a problem. The vessels, which appeared in the waters of the South Kuril Islands in the late 1970's, have two to three outboard motors and their speed reaches more than 40 knots (empty, without a catch). Quite a few border-guard vessels are not in a position to rival them. Besides, catching up with such a violator is not the end of it. After all, a boarding party needs to be put on the violator in order to intercept it. Meanwhile, boarding at this speed (in addition to, God forbid, rough seas) is a very risky affair. Besides, excessive good will is not characteristic of the crews of these gangster vessels. When vessels are boarded they use their fists and bamboo sticks.

Therefore, challenging the "Kawasakis" in terms of speed does not augur well for the border guards. However, there are weapons aboard border-guard vessels which may immediately set everything right. They may be used in cases specified in the law (warning shots and fire for effect).

However, this is exactly where differences appear. Most of the vessel commanders and officers I have happened to meet believe that it is necessary to use weapons. For example, Captain 3d Rank Ya. Adamsons, who used weapons last year, said the following:

"It is not going to work until I as a commander am fully responsible for the stretch of border I am guarding."

There is another opinion on this. Thus, when we discussed this issue, unit commander Capt. 1st Rank Yu. Chistyakov stressed that opening fire on fishing vessels is, apparently, inexpedient; nor does it conform to the sense of new political thinking. The method which is used now—destruction of the Japanese poachers' nets, is much more efficient. If a border-guard vessel, having driven a violator out of our waters, finds nets it destroys them, or communicates their coordinates to the vessels of the Sakhalin Administration of the Fishing Industry. Unfortunately, border-guard vessels do not have their own equipment for hauling in nets (which may be as long as several kilometers).

Capt. 2d Rank V. Sokur, chief of a unit political division, was of the same opinion.

"After all, our border in the area of the South Kuril Islands is unilateral. The Japanese do not recognize it. Therefore, weapons, of course, should not be used."

Well, these are weighty arguments. However, this is what Capt. 2d Rank N. Ivanov, a unit staff officer, brought to my attention:

"The situation with the use of weapons in our area is a typical example of the prevalence of politics over law. You will not find a single prohibitive document; there are only oral instructions. Since we are building a rule-of-law state, the Law 'On the State Border of the USSR' should be upheld in full. The law needs to be amended if some of its provisions run counter to certain international obligations of our state."

At present, the maritime border in the area of the South Kuril Islands is a tangle of problems. Of course, resolving these problems does not boil down to the question "To fire or not to fire?" In this matter, our diplomats and lawyers have work to do. At present, a new concept of protecting the state border is being worked out. It may help undo the tangle.

Still, Ya. Adamsons told me what happened last year.

...On 19 May 1989, a border-guard patrol vessel commanded by Capt. 3d Rank Ya. Adamsons found a Japanese schooner in a grotto on an island in our territorial waters; it was painted to match the color of the surrounding rocks. The schooner began to flee when it became clear that the border guards had discovered it. The chase lasted three hours. Despite the shots fired, the violator got away.

Yanis Yanisovich recalled: "What struck me more than anything was the fact that there was a man standing on the stern of the schooner who was holding a fire hose, and water was flowing from the fire hose. It meant that the owner of the schooner was even prepared for a fire caused by our shots and, perhaps, the demise of his vessel. One would not risk this for even the most abundant catch. Therefore, we are creating yet another myth by describing the violators of our border along the South Kuril Islands as merely poaching fishermen."

We asked Deputy Chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops Vice Admiral A. Shindyayev to comment on this article:

In recent years, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and other publications have repeatedly reported on the topic of the violations of our border by Japanese vessels in the area of the South Kuril Islands, especially when these violations have become massive.

Indeed, a large group of high-speed Japanese vessels have been systematically violating the state border with a view to rapacious fishing. Violator vessels do not fly national flags or carry other identifying markings signifying their state affiliation, they behave brazenly, and they refuse to comply with the demands of the border-guard vessels to halt. Much to our regret, the state organs of Japan take no measures to prevent these illegal actions. Moreover, according to the information available, they encourage them as one of the forms of struggle for the so-called "northern territories."

The following issue arises: Do the border troops have the force and means, as well as the right, to put an end to these violations? Yes, they do.

In this sector, we mainly have a sufficient number of modern high-speed vessels with well-trained personnel. In all fairness, in most cases we succeed in frustrating the plans of violators to steal seafood. However, this is not enough; we would like to put things on the border in complete order.

When we deal with the vessels of other states, all issues are resolved in keeping with international maritime law, that is, respective signals to halt are run up, a vessel stops, and we send a boarding party which figures out the reason for violating the state border in a businesslike and quiet atmosphere and makes a decision on allowing the vessel to proceed toward its destination, imposing penalty fines, or detaining the vessel.

What are we to do about vessels which fail to comply with requests to halt and maneuver dangerously at a high speed? After all, sending out a boarding party under the circumstances, putting it mildly, jeopardizes the lives of the border guards; more precisely, this is just impossible to do.

Of course, we have weapons. However, I think that this needs to be resolved through diplomacy, and other ways to resolve it need to be sought in the current environment of perestroyka in our society and the development of interstate contacts.

In July 1990, the continuing violations of the Soviet-Japanese border were pointed out in a serious manner to the Japanese side at a meeting of the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and Japan. It was noted in the declaration that recently the issue of massive violations of the Soviet state border by Japanese fishing vessels has been raised at the Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies and has been covered on the pages of the Soviet press. The leitmotif of these presentations has been: Take harsher measures. However, taking into account a trend toward the relaxation of mutual relations between states in the international arena, the diplomatic way is, to my mind, more efficient in solving acute problems in the area of the South Kuril Islands. Its potential has not been exhausted yet.

Mongolian President Sends Thanks to Gorbachev

LD1209180190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1628 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—It is reported here today that P. Ochirbat has sent a cable to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, which expresses gratitude for his congratulations and wishes on the occasion of his election as president of the Mongolian People's Republic.

"I fully share your thoughts about the consistent development and strengthening of Mongolian-Soviet cooperation," the cable says. "Our friendship has stood the test of time and I see my task in promoting its steady strengthening in every way."

Southeast Asia

Nepalese Premier Interviewed on Impact of Reforms

90UF0514A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 36, 5 Sep 90 p 15

[Report on interview with K. Bhattarai, prime minister of Nepal, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Yu. Kulikov; place and date not given: "The Jail and the Crown: An Interview With the Prime Minister Who Was Recently a Prisoner"]

[Text] Kathmandu—In the middle of the night the unceasing howl of a siren woke me. I went out onto the street. Fire engines rushed past the hotel, one after another. It went on that way until dawn, and in the morning the rumor circulated that there had been arson in the city again: It was not the first time that supporters of the previous government had set fire to their own offices to cover up the traces of corruption and crime. I arrived in Katmandu while the charred skeletons of the police stations, the bold inscriptions on the walls of houses referring to the pair of monarchs, and the monument to King Mahendra with its nose broken off and its sword tied on with wire still vividly recalled the recent revolution. King Mahendra is the one that is mentioned in our half-forgotten song dedicated to the queen of Nepal: "Vasya, why is she married to a king by the name of Mahendra?" The homeland of Buddha, it is the world's only Hindu kingdom, the source for us of little more than exotic character. It is a country on the "roof of the world" whose news mainly consisted of the latest conquest of Everest at a time when it was living a difficult life and dramatic processes were underway, culminating in a revolution in the spring of 1990. We talked of this with Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, the new prime minister of Nepal.

By profession he is a journalist; at one time he was the first foreign correspondent to interview N. Khrushchev. He is 66 years old. He spent 14 of those years in jails—among the politicians of Asia, this is a particularly bitter record!

Bhattarai smiles:

[Bhattarai] Of course any deprivation of freedom is torment. Nonetheless, I agree with Solzhenitsyn: Prison develops a man if, of course, he wishes to improve himself. I read much in prison, including "A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," practiced yoga, and, most importantly, continued to conduct political work, maintaining ties with the outside world. Before writing about Nepal, you must know that the "sleepy kingdom" is a myth. In the course of the last 30 years a bitter struggle has been waged against the leaders of the country, and tens of thousands of people have been thrown behind bars. Today's revolution is the culmination of previous revolts and uncoordinated actions by the people, whose position is genuinely disastrous. Nepal, according to data from the World Bank, is the second poorest country on the planet. After Ethiopia. Almost half of the population lives below the poverty line. Only four percent of Nepalese have electricity. A third of the residents are illiterate, and at the same time there is abundance in the stores, and the elite have luxurious private residences, buy Japanese automobiles, and send their children to prestigious educational institutions in the West. And our political system! Thirty years ago Mahendra, the father of our present king, abolished the parliament, considering it "incompatible" with traditions common to Nepal, and banned the activities of all parties which supposedly obstructed the creation of favorable conditions for the development of the country. The congress and the leftist parties went underground, and in the place of the parliament there appeared a system of panchayats [small councils] obedient to the king. The official propaganda called it "unique and the most democratic system in the world"; in fact, it was a question of the absolute power of a monarch who was not responsible for his actions to any state organs. The panchayats only gave unanimous approval to the decisions which came down from the palace. If you also consider that the officials—from the bosses to the very lowest of the clerks—were up

to their ears in taking bribes, you will understand why such anger raged among the people.

[Kulikov] The press has written much about to the effect that members of the royal family are not free from corruption either. The press states that because of this, the king may be the most hated figure in Nepal. I have had the opportunity to see posters accusing Ayshvaria Devi of transferring millions of rupees to secret accounts in Swiss banks and of purchasing 1,700 hectares of land in Greece. She controls dozens of public organizations which earn income, and people compare her to Imelda Marcos. Comparisons are constantly made with the clan of the Philippine dictator. They say that the queen-mother heads the Children's Society, the wife of the uncle—the Red Crescent, the cousin—the society to fight cancer, one brother of the king is director of Nepal television, and another is chief of civil aviation. The royal family owns hotels, biscuit and match factories, and a salt corporation, conducting itself, according to the ironic observation of one of the young leaders, "more like merchants than members of a royal family." The journal INDIA TODAY even wrote that some of the high-born clan are tied to narcotics, contraband, and illegal currency operations.

[Bhattarai] Now that a temporary government of the Nepal Congress Party and the United Front of the Left has come to power as the result of the revolution, we have gotten access to documents and dossiers. We need a careful investigation and rumors must be separated from truth. I am against acting as they did in Romania with Ceausescu. The guilt of each criminal, even the most serious, should be proved in open court. As for our monarch, I do not believe that he personally is implicated in corruption. Certainly his relatives are, but it seems that he shut his eyes to it. This issue will require much analysis. Another question is raised. The royal family has money, and no one can forbid them from conducting business. But in the process one must be a patriot and invest money not only in tourism and the production of cigarettes and nonalcoholic drinks, that is to say in sectors which bring quick easy profits, but also in industrialization: The production of electric energy, cement, etc. In short, one must care about the development of a backward country.

[Kulikov] How do you explain the fact that King Birendra, who has the support of the Army and the police, nonetheless yielded to the demands of the people?

[Bhattarai] I believe that he showed foresight. Long ago I said that the king must read the disrespectful inscriptions on the walls, or else he would lose the crown. His choice was either to conduct a protracted, ruthless war with his own people or to come to a compromise, preserving the throne in the process. Birendra chose the latter. Knowing him, I can say that he is not orthodox. Perhaps his Western education at Harvard had an effect. It is no accident that his father, Mahendra, even worried that his son had exported liberal views from America. The fear of losing the support of donor-countries apparently also played a substantial role. The figures will surprise you: Foreign aid's portion in all of our five-year plans comprises about 50 percent. The United States, Japan, and the FRG were in favor of dialogue with the opposition, and they pushed for democratic changes. During the demonstrations, the children of employees at the U.S. Embassy, despite the danger, drove around the city on the roof of a school bus waving the flags of the Congress and the Front of the Left. On the other hand, Birendra was not so quick to yield to the pressure of those who revolted, among whom there were teachers, lawyers, doctors, and, primarily, young people dressed in jeans. The young people were the first to take up cobblestones, and their representatives were the first to fall under the Gurkhas' bullets. In this sense the spring events in Nepal frequently mirror the events on Beijing's Tiananmen Square. The actions of the Nepalese people lasted 10 weeks. According to some reports, about 500 people died. That still has to be verified—witnesses say that trucks transported the bodies of the dead outside the city at night. The corpses were thrown into deep ravines or buried with bulldozers. So we have paid a dear price for abolishment of the hated panchayats, legalization of political parties, and the king's agreement to change the constitution, conduct general elections in a year, and establish a constitutional monarchy.

[Kulikov] Did the changes in East Europe and perestroyka in the USSR influence Nepal?

[Bhattarai] Undoubtedly. The world is united, and a fresh wind, no matter where it may blow from, even reaches a country surrounded by the Himalayas. Democratic rights have become a universal value, and if our small cities of Patan and Kirtipur declare themselves "free zones" and republics, it is an echo of reforms in the world at large. However now that the euphoria of victory has dissipated, the situation does not seem easy and harmonious.

[Kulikov] What is your reaction to rumors concerning the possibility of civil war? A portion of the youth, as far as I know, are not satisfied with the results of the revolution, consider them a compromise, and demand a complete overthrow of the monarchy....

[Bhattarai] Yes we cannot exclude the possibility of civil war. The possibility of a coup d'etat also remains, inasmuch as the opposition is trying to unite. The most crucial problem of maintaining law and order has arisen. In this situation we are throwing out all differences of opinion and speaking out as a united front against any "ultras," no matter whether they come from the left or the right. Of course the anger and impatience of the young people are explainable. But for now the most important thing is balance in the country: We cannot attain everything in one day, nor can we disregard centuries of royal traditions. Many Nepalese, especially the residents of the mountainous regions, still respect the king and consider him the embodiment of the god Vishnu. The constitution which, I hope, will soon be

adopted, will put strong limits on the power of the king. Common sense says that for the time being the monarchy should be limited and there should be an active effort to develop the economy.

[Kulikov] I know that Nepal is a kind of staging point for contraband destined for India....

[Bhattarai] Unfortunately, that is true. The stores are full of luxury items which are purchased in Thailand, Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea and are designated for illegal exportation to India, where strong protectionist measures exist in the interests of developing its own industry. Hard currency which could be used in Nepal for the development of industry is wasted and spent on expensive trifles. And while the economy receives no income, the merchants make a fortune with their import licenses. This vicious black market practice will be rooted out mercilessly. We are adherents of a mixed economy, but in the future we will try to strictly control expenditure of foreign aid and state assets.[end interview]

Before leaving Bhattarai, I asked a question with a somewhat delicate theme: What kind of relations between Nepal and India are being implemented? Last spring after Nepal purchased arms and ammunition worth $20 million from China, India closed the majority of its border entry points and would not renew treaties with Nepal concerning trade and transit. This resulted in an abrupt worsening in its neighbor's economic situation. They say that it even hastened the revolutionary explosion in the monarchist country. Bhattarai, who was born on the bank of the Ganges in Varanasi, states, "Repairing relations with India is one of several important tasks. The situation was aggravated by the lack of foresight of our former government as well as by several mistakes on the Indian side. The goal of my June meeting in Delhi with Prime Minister V.P. Singh was to correct the situation."

The prime minister glanced at the clock. In the waiting room were dozens of people, and Bhattarai explained to me that it is a Nepalese custom not to let any of them go without having given at least a minute of one's time. It was 0800. The beginning of the working day. On the wall next to the clock, slightly crooked, hung a portrait of the king and queen of Nepal.

Commentary on Prospects for Change in Burma

BK1309094590 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Commentary by station correspondent: "Myanmar, Two Years After the Coup"]

[Text] As you listeners already know, it is almost two years now since a coup was staged by the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC] in Myanmar [Burma] on 18 September 1988. The generals who are members of the SLORC said then that they had to resort to the force of arms in order to quell the destructive and unruly elements. The SLORC announced that its main responsibility was to restore discipline, to hold general elections, and to create conditions aimed at achieving democracy.

A Radio Moscow correspondent says the elections are now over, but hopes for new changes held by the people after the vote count have all been dashed. The military government, which did not know what to do when overwhelmed by the opposition victory, has now started its offensive. With the SLORC imposing all sorts of conditions on the establishment of a new administration and on the transfer of power, it has become evident that the military government does not intend to give up its power.

Key opposition figures, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin U, have not been able to compete in the elections because of the obstruction by the military authorities. Quite a few people were expecting them to be released after the elections, but this did not happen. In fact, the worst has happened. Only a few days ago, six more leaders of the National League for Democracy [NLD], including the acting leader U Kyi Maung, have been detained after being accused of agitating unrest and attempting to divide the Defense Services. It appears as if the entire party—the NLD, which won 80 percent of the seats at stake—has been put under detention today.

News agencies have reported that the military government was willing to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, but I understand that it comes with a condition: that she leave the country.

The reaction overseas to the latest round of arrests has been very negative. The SLORC action was condemned by Senator Gareth Evans, minister of foreign affairs and trade of Australia. An announcement issued from his office in Sydney says the latest round of arrests further diminishes the credibility of the Myanmar military authorities and it shows that the recently held elections were a farce.

The U.S. Department of State also says the latest developments in Myanmar are an attempt by the military generals to curb all legal political movements in the country.

Foreign countries and governments have strongly been condemning the SLORC over the past two years. Many of these countries have decided that it is not right to support a government that has sacrificed many innocent lives to gain power and have therefore stopped all aid to that government. However, the government led by Senior General Saw Maung has been able to earn foreign exchange, which is vital to its survival, by offering very attractive incentives to foreigners and concluding contracts and issuing licenses to foreign companies. But how long can this last?

Some observers point out that organizationally, the opposition is still too weak to be able to force the military to return to the barracks. But some say the

present government has no other means but to resort to military might and therefore the opposition to the government will grow among the people. The economic factor also comes into play here. It can contribute to the betterment of the political situation inside as well as around Myanmar. While saying on the one hand that the open-door economic policy of the SLORC has led to some economic development in the country, it must also be pointed out that those people who desire to work with a resource-rich country like Myanmar may try their hand in helping bring out those who may be better trading partners than the present military officers.

Whatever the situation may be, Soviet academicians who study Southeast Asian political and economic affairs believe that any changes in the Yangon [Rangoon] government, in the short term, will only be cosmetic in nature. The government in Myanmar today, for all practical purposes, is still the Myanmar Socialist Program Party government like before, and it will be quite some time before any fundamental changes take place. The exception to this thinking, of course, is unless mass movements and demonstrations break out again like in 1988. By all appearances, the SLORC will not permit such a situation to emerge again. Our station correspondent says this is evident from eyewitness accounts of increased military presence in the cities prior to the second anniversary of the military coup.

Vietnamese Leaders Thank Gorbachev for Greetings

PM1309091390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Vietnamese leaders' message thanking USSR leaders for anniversary congratulations]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR
Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
Comrade A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

We express our sincere gratitude for the warm congratulations on our national holiday—the 45th anniversary of the formation of the SRV.

The party, state, and people of Vietnam are profoundly aware that the victories won by the Vietnamese revolution over the past 45 years are connected with the solidarity, the support, and the tremendous valuable and effective assistance of the CPSU, the Soviet state, and the fraternal Soviet people. The Vietnamese people will always be grateful to the Soviet Union for this manifestation of a lofty international feeling.

The party, our state, and the entire Vietnamese people struggle consistently and steadfastly for the strengthening and development of friendship and all-around cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, for the interests of the two countries' peoples, for peace and social progress throughout the world.

We firmly believe that the Soviet people will surmount all difficulties and trials and will triumphantly complete the building of socialism on Soviet soil.

(Signed) Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee
Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State
Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers
Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Plan To Charter Ships in Gulf Unconfirmed

PM1309124390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

["Our correspondent" report: "Report in THE INDEPENDENT Not Confirmed"]

[Text] The British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT recently published a report by its special correspondent in Dhahran (Saudi Arabia) that the Pentagon intends to charter Soviet merchant ships to transfer troops and combat hardware to the Persian Gulf region. And one ship is allegedly already being loaded in a U.S. port.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent asked Ye.A. Korshunov, deputy general director of the Sovfrakht All-Union Foreign Trade Association of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, to comment on that report.

"I cannot confirm that report. Our association has not engaged in chartering such ships. In any case, only Sovfrakht would charter a Soviet merchant ship. So far no one has put such questions to us."

Belonogov, Iraqi Envoy Meet on Gulf Crisis

LD1209125790 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov today received Iraqi Ambassador to the USSR Ghafil Jassim Husayn.

The ambassador was told about the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Helsinki, which gave fresh impetus to efforts aimed at settling the Gulf crisis by non-military, political means on the basis of the U.N. Security Council resolutions.

U.S., Soviets To Break Deadlock on Afghanistan

LD1209153890 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"The Soviet Union and the United States—guarantors of the Geneva accords—are contributing substantially to a political

settlement of the Afghan conflict and we welcome their efforts," President Najibullah recently told the second U.N. conference on least developed nations in Paris.

The latest Moscow talks between the Soviet and American foreign ministers have eloquently confirmed the president's statement. The sides have reaffirmed their desire to help break the deadlock in Afghanistan as quickly as possible and continued their efforts to approximate the stands of the two powers on key aspects of an Afghan political settlement.

The Soviet Union and the United States are now in accord on the basic principles of an Afghan settlement. The existence of "identical or common views on many aspects of an internal Afghan settlement" was recorded yet during the Irkutsk meeting of the Soviet and American foreign ministers. They recognised the importance of fixing a transitional period and of setting up a representative coordination body, which could pave the ground for free elections under the aegis and with the active participation of the United Nations, and decide certain other questions related to the transitional period.

Discussed during the Moscow meeting were concrete mechanisms of the transional period, particularly the possibility of setting up a coordination centre whose main tasks would be to prepare and hold general democratic Afghan elections with a view to forming a broadly-based government. It goes without saying that only Afghans themselves and nobody else can decide the future character and structure of their Afghan traditions.

This is what Kabul is now trying achieve by consistently implementing its policy of national reconciliation and by calling for prompt negotiations with all opposition parties and groupings, which are still in conflict, but are demonstrating growing readiness to join the peacemaking process in the country.

"All the Afghan sides," President Najibullah said during his last month's visit to India, "must start a dialogue, which would be followed up by a ceasefire, and later by a peace conference and the setting up of a joint commission to supervise elections. Any party, which gets the majority in parliament, is entitled to form a new government," he said.

The growing trust between the Soviet Union and the United States, reflected by the Helsinki summit, and the possibility of interaction it opens in the settlement of various crisis and conflict situations are bound to affect positively the solution of such an old conflict as the war in Afghanistan. Today we have favourable external and internal factors, facilitating a political settlement in Afghanistan. The international community and all the Afghan forces interested in peace and tranquility in their country should exploit them without any further delay.

Israeli Foreign Ministry Group To Visit 13 Sep

LD1209201290 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] A delegation of ranking officials of Israel's Foreign Ministry arrives in Moscow on Thursday [13 September]. According to international news agencies, the Israeli officials are attaching great importance to the visit.

Foreign Minister David Levi said in Jerusalem on Wednesday that he was hoping for improvement in his country's relations with the USSR, and that he would welcome the USSR's involvement in peace settlement talks between Israel and the Arab nations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Status of Relations With South Africa Discussed

90UF0522A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 36, 8-14 Sep 90 p 7

[Interview with Yu. Yukalov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Administration of African Countries, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent Yu. Sigov; place and date not given: "USSR-RSA: On the Eve of Changes"]

[Text] [Yukalov] First of all, we should note that the USSR and the Republic of South Africa [RSA] have never had diplomatic relations. During World War II a Soviet consulate was opened in the Union of South Africa. However, as early as 1956 these relations with the South African Government were severed under the influence of the "cold war" and in conjunction with an anticommunist campaign mounted in the Union of South Africa.

[Sigov] Does the USSR maintain relations with the RSA through third countries at present?

[Yukalov] No. Despite a certain interest in developing relations with the RSA, the Soviet Union adheres strictly to international obligations which call for implementing sanctions in political, economic, cultural, scientific, athletic, and other spheres pursuant to UN resolutions.

[Sigov] Significant political changes are underway in the RSA at present. In conjunction with this, some countries of East Europe are striving to establish political contacts with the Republic of South Africa. Could it be that the Soviet Union should also more vigorously seek rapprochement with this richest country on the African continent?

[Yukalov] To begin with, I will note that not a single East European country has diplomatic relations with the RSA as of now. Yes, Hungary has recently resolved to open its representative office there but has been sharply criticized for this by the Organization of African Unity. If this

representative office is ultimately opened, this may unfavorably affect Hungary's relations with African states.

At the same time there is not complete isolation of the RSA in the world—many countries of Western Europe, Latin America, and the United States maintain relations with it.

[Sigov] How is the signing of a contract for diamond sales to the De Beers company by the USSR to be viewed in this context? ARGUMENTY I FAKTY reported that this is a Swiss company, but all other newspapers maintain that it is a South African company....

[Yukalov] The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a query regarding this from the UN, and I want to state once again: The transaction was entered into with the Swiss transnational corporation "De Beers Centenary," which has branches not only in the RSA but also in the United States, England, and other countries.

[Sigov] May diplomatic relations between the USSR and the RSA be established in the nearest future?

[Yukalov] There are prospects for this. Everything will hinge on the pace of "perestroyka" in the political system of the RSA. This is why I think that such relations may be established in a year or in four years just as well.

[Sigov] Nonetheless, in the past two years a number of Soviet organizations and cooperatives have begun to establish contacts with representatives of the RSA business community, an international boycott notwithstanding.

[Yukalov] Indeed, such attempts are being made. However, I would like to caution the managers of our enterprises and cooperatives which have been granted the right to operate in the world market directly against engaging in any transactions with RSA representatives. The sanctions of the world community against this country are harsh, and this is why no USSR state organization may facilitate the development of economic cooperation with the RSA. Thus far an exception has been made for South African businessmen who have stated a desire to assist us in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

[Sigov] Nonetheless, cooperation between the RSA and the USSR continues to develop, in particular, in the cultural sphere. A tour of the RSA by Soviet circus performers was planned but subsequently canceled suddenly. Rumors are circulating to the effect that in December the Bolshoi Theater ballet company will also go to Pretoria....

[Yukalov] As far as the tour of the Bolshoi Theater in the RSA is concerned, it is nothing but a rumor. Apparently, one of our cooperatives was arranging for a trip to South Africa by Soviet circus performers through some third country. At any rate, the All-Union Association of State Circuses of the USSR Ministry of Culture has got nothing to do with this tour, nor could it because a cultural boycott of the RSA exists.

[Sigov] What is going to happen if the circus performers go on tour in the RSA nonetheless?

[Yukalov] If the circus tour is organized nonetheless the world community will view it as a violation of sanctions, and anti-apartheid organizations may frustrate the tour by organizing mass protest demonstrations, as was the case with a cricket team from Great Britain. Moreover, performers who have visited the RSA in violation of the international sanctions are automatically "blacklisted," and will subsequently be unable to perform in many other countries of the world.

Metallurgy Project With Nigeria Examined

90UF0518A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report on interview with foreign trade official by M. Knyazkov; place and date not given: "Does Nigeria Need Metal"]

[Text] As TASS has reported, the World Bank is demanding that the government of Nigeria reduce expenditures for the construction of the metallurgical combine in Ajaokuta, which is being built with Soviet cooperation. An official representative of the Nigerian Ministry of Mines, Power, and Steel, who asked that his name not be mentioned, told this to a REUTER correspondent in an interview.

Reluctance to follow Western recommendations may cost the country dearly. As the ministry representative noted, the future of a $500 million loan which the World Bank intends to extend to Nigeria this year will hinge on the resolution of this issue. A loan of about $300 million which was promised to Lagos by a group of donor states headed by Japan and Great Britain is also tied to the issue of the metallurgical combine.

As the Nigerian representative said, the issue of this enterprise, the planned output of which comes to 1.3 million tons of metal a year, was the focal point of negotiations held last week by Nigerian officials at the Washington headquarters of the World Bank. As the interview suggests, in the course of the talks the leaders of the bank referred to the fact that the combine has already cost Nigeria almost $5 billion but still does not produce a sufficient quantity of metal. The ministry representative said: "They said that we should spend for this project only 20 percent of what we consider necessary."

"Is the Ajaokuta project really that inefficient? Will it become yet another monument to our megalomania?" I approached N.V. Inochkin, director of the "Sovafro" Company of the Tyazhpromeksport Foreign Trade Association, who directly oversees the construction of the combine, with these questions.

[Inochkin] Indeed, the commissioning of the enterprise whose construction began in 1979 is being delayed. However, this is not our fault. The dropping price of oil, Nigeria's main export commodity, in the 1980's was a factor. Funding was reduced accordingly. A serious problem developed with the supply of raw materials, in particular coking coal and iron ore. The Soviet Union did not assume any obligations in this area. The Nigerians made arrangements themselves with other countries, for example, Australia and Brazil.

Besides, infrastructure in the area of construction is very poorly developed. There is no seaport in the vicinity through which the necessary freight could be delivered. There is no railroad leading to Port Harcourt which is the nearest of all. This is why difficulties develop all the time with the delivery of the necessary materials and equipment. However, this is through no fault of ours either. Nonetheless, we may say with the full weight of responsibility that construction is going to be completed in the main next year.

[Knyazkov] Still, is a construction project that extensive justified under African conditions?

[Inochkin] Yes, there is every reason to believe that it really is. The point is that the Ajaokuta enterprise is primarily geared to meet the needs of the Nigerian construction industry. This is a big country, and its population is approaching 120 million; this is why they build a lot there. Besides, we should take into account the fact that the metallurgical industry does not yield high profits anywhere in the world, and frequently it altogether operates at a loss. Nonetheless, states subsidize it because they are aware that metallurgy is the foundation of an economy.

[Knyazkov] Hopefully, this project will not turn into yet another case of our "generosity for show?"

[Inochkin] The Nigerians pay us, though I cannot say that they do so regularly. At present, their debt comes to 1.2 billion Deutsche marks. However, there is every reason to believe that the debt is going to be repaid. After all, Nigeria is one of the main oil exporters; therefore, it has considerable currency funds available. The project has been 90 percent completed, and we intend to meet our obligations.

[Knyazkov] If we could go back to 1979, would you once again proceed to sign such a contract?

[Inochkin] Yes. The point is that under the terms of this project we sell sophisticated equipment, technology, and know-how abroad rather than raw materials. Ideally, this is what we should be doing everywhere. This project has given an impetus to the development of our own metallurgical industry and bolstered its export potential.

Ethiopian Envoy Views Ties on Anniversary

LD1209182290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is the national holiday of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the 16th anniversary of Ethiopia's revolution. (Belayneh Mengesha) the Ethiopian charge d'affaires in the USSR, is taking part in our program.

[Mengesha, in Amharic, with superimposed Russian translation] Esteemed Soviet friends, the last 16 years have shown how the Ethiopian people have struggled for justice, social development, and peace. But it has required quite a few sacrifices to survive the struggle against the subversive activities of internal and external enemies who have raised their hand against our country's unity and territorial integrity. In the struggle for a new and just social system, the peoples of our two countries have demonstrated strong and inviolable friendship. We are grateful for the assistance which the Soviet Government and people are constantly giving us, and we will never forget it. The regular meetings and exchange of views on bilateral cooperation and world problems between President of Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam, and USSR president Gorbachev have strengthened cooperation between our two countries and yielded fruitful results.

The policy of perestroyka being pursued by the Soviet Union has had an immense impact on the world's political and economic development and has helped to bring the peoples closer together and to strengthen democracy and peace. In this connection, Ethiopia is also pursuing a policy aimed at the political and economic renewal of the country. Ethiopia is striving to implement the positive changes taking place in the world and to help bring the peoples closer together, both inside the country and in the region of the Horn of Africa.

People in the Soviet Union are aware that the separatist war in our northern provinces is impeding the efforts for peace being made by Ethiopia, whose policies are respected and supported in friendly countries. I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to stress that we are in extreme need of support from peace-loving peoples, so that we can find a dignified solution to this complex question and persuade the separatist forces to accept our peace proposals.

Long live the inviolable friendship between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union!

Thank you for your attention.

CPSU Greets Madagascar Party Congress

PM1209143590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[CPSU Central Committee Secretariat greetings to 12th Congress of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar; date not given]

[Text] To the 12th Congress of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar

On behalf of Soviet Communists we greet the delegates to the 12th Congress of the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar.

We wish your party forum fruitful work and express confidence that the relations of friendship and cooperation which have evolved between our parties will continue to strengthen for the good of the Soviet and Malagasy peoples.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

East Europe

Reportage on Soviet Troop Withdrawal From GDR

Western Commanders Comment

PM1209142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent S. Baygarov under the rubric "From the Scene of the Event": "Open Day. Soviet Servicemen in Berlin Receive Foreign Guests"]

[Text] Berlin—The Soviet motorized rifle brigade stationed in Berlin's Karlshorst District has held "open days" before. But this time servicemen from the U.S., British, and French Armies came from the corresponding sectors of West Berlin to be guests of the Soviet servicemen.

The guests also included officers in the GDR Army, which still exists as an independent entity, and district chiefs and representatives of the police who during all these years have been giving all kinds of assistance to the brigade stationed here.

"Such meetings have become particularly topical on the eve of the GDR's unification with the FRG," Colonel General A.N. Kolinichenko, chief of the Western Group of Forces Political Directorate, told me. "Of course, the tumultuous events of the past year have also left their mark on relations between the servicemen of the group of forces and the public in the republic. But there are no cardinal changes in this sphere. The withdrawal of the group's troops, envisaged over the next three or four years, will put questions on the agenda which it will be impossible to resolve without close and businesslike contacts between our units and representatives of the local organs of power, between Soviet soldiers and the populace."

A decision has already been adopted to reduce the military activity of the group of forces. Its realization has resulted in a certain reduction in the scale of troop exercises, in the intensity of aircraft flights, including low-altitude flights, of firing practice on the ranges....

Meanwhile, the measures envisaged by the "open day" were gathering momentum. Even the rain that had been drizzling since morning had stopped. After a brief introductory speech by Lieutenant Colonel A.N. Yevteyev, brigade commander, the guests were familiarized with the drill proficiency of officers and men and dispersed around the unit. It cannot be said that no secrets were kept from them. But those secrets are probably kept behind wax seals in the staff safe. As regards the rest, all doors really were open. Many people began their inspection in the soldiers' mess, tried the kasha and borscht, and visited the barracks and the club. But gradually everyone gravitated toward one place—the park, where everything in the brigade's arsenal had been set out, from the Makarov pistol to modern tanks. At that same time, incidentally, similar tanks were being loaded onto flatcars a few dozen kilometers away, in the city of Neuruppin, to be sent home.

U.S. Brigadier General Sheknou [name as transliterated], commander of the Berlin infantry brigade, seemed to have decided to mount a real inspection of an armored personnel carrier crew. The American was interested in literally everything. He studied with genuine interest, for example, what a soldier was wearing. He was surprised to learn that the driver—in his opinion, the key member of the crew—was a compulsory service soldier and not a professional.

A brief interview with British General Oliver, commander of the Berlin motorized rifle brigade:

[Oliver] This measure is not only interesting but also makes great political sense and strengthens trust. What is happening today would have been hard to imagine even a few months ago. British troops in the FRG are expecting very soon a return visit from Army General V.B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces. I would like this policy to continue in the future.

[Baygarov] General, you have commanded the Berlin brigade for two years now. So you have had time to study the Soviets....

[Oliver] I have studied them from afar. Only today for the first time I am having direct contact with Soviet officers and men.

[Baygarov] Nevertheless, a question: Does any particular feature that is characteristic only of our servicemen strike you?

The general fell to thinking and consulted the interpreter.

[Oliver] No, I have not noticed anything. They are boys such as I have in my brigade.

Indeed, but for the uniform, it would be hard to distinguish them—Russian, British, U.S., French, and German boys. It is a pity both East and West had to go through almost 45 years of mutual enmity, amass mountains of weapons, and surmount a succession of conflicts, each of which might have escalated into a war, in order to comprehend such a simple truth.

FRG Chancellor Interviewed

PM1209081890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Chistyakov: "Interests Coincide"]

[Text] Bonn, 10 Sep—The question of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of what is now the GDR and their subsequent withdrawal is the subject of intensive talks between the FRG and the USSR, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl has stated in an interview with DEUTSCHLANDFUNK.

On the one hand, the FRG is interested in ensuring that the Soviet troops leave the territory of the united Germany before the end of 1994.

On the other hand, however, the FRG is mindful of the present-day situation in the USSR, specifically the disastrous housing situation prevailing there, which will make it impossible to provide apartments in the short term for all the military servicemen returning home. Therefore, in the chancellor's opinion, subunits from the Soviet Army's Western Group of Forces should leave the territory of the present GDR gradually and according to the planned schedule.

Such an approach will signify Bonn's support for the Soviet policy of reforms. Soldiers and officers, members of their families, and all the population of the Soviet Union will see that the FRG and the Soviet Union are resolving this problem together. In that case, H. Kohl believes, the two states' interests coincide.

Researcher Views 1956 Intervention in Hungary

AU1209095390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Dimitriy Markov, Soviet expert on Hungary, candidate of economic science, and member of the so-called Bogomolov Institute, by Laszlo Sandor; place and date not given: "The Siege of the Party Headquarters Was Only an Excuse"]

[Text] Dimitriy Markov opens the discussion by saying that the 1956 Soviet armed intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign country should be condemned by the current Soviet Government. Markov is a member of the Bogomolov Institute. For a long time now, this research center has been at the heart of the very complex area of Eastern European Studies in the Soviet Union. Markov studied in Hungary, and then served for a long time with the Soviet Embassy in Budapest. He speaks Hungarian, but, due to the sensitivity of the issue, he chose to express his strictly personal opinion in Russian.

[Sandor] Do you not think that the November 1956 crushing of the Hungarian revolution falls into the same category as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the 1968 international action against the Prague Spring, and the military intervention in Afghanistan?

[Markov] The only common factor is that they were all manifestations of the same hypocritical and abominable Soviet foreign policy, and it is high time for us to consistently distance ourselves from that policy.

[Sandor] Why is the rehabilitation of the Hungarian uprising and revolution taking so long? Surely, it is not because the current Soviet leadership feels rather attached to Khrushchev, who gave the order for the intervention, and Andropov, the Soviet Ambassador to Hungary at the time?

[Markov] That is a simplification. There are several reasons for the prudence concerning the 1956 events in Hungary. For example, the international atmosphere in 1956 was completely different to the atmosphere in 1968. Indeed, all Eastern European communist parties and governments, as well as the People's Republic of China, were involved in the Hungarian intervention—they even encouraged it—and Yugoslavia played a passive role. In fact, with the Suez crisis going on, it was not even in the interest of the Western powers to entirely destabilize the region at that point. Hungarian developments were unpredictable. Moreover, violent events in Hungary provided an excuse for intervention.

[Sandor] If I understood the Russian term correctly, you used the word "excuse" rather than "reason."

[Markov] Yes, you understood that correctly. The siege of the party headquarters was an excuse. Regardless of all the tragic events involved, it merely provided an opportunity to go ahead with the planned intervention. In the Soviet Union, we assess the 1956 events in a cowardly and uncertain way because we lack ideological clarifications. Indeed, the time has come to reevaluate terms like "revolution" and "counterrevolution," and until such a reevaluation, our immature public opinion will find it difficult and contradictory to accept a reexamination of the evaluation of said events.

[Sandor] Do you believe that a rehabilitation of the Hungarian revolution will take place in an international context?

[Markov] If it were up to me, I would not wait any longer. Pragmatic interests make this a necessity. I think that the government and parliament will come to this conclusion, sooner or later.

[Sandor] Would you agree that a lack of historical and political insight has contributed directly to the current irredentism in Hungary, and to anti-Soviet sentiments?

[Markov] Anti-Soviet and anticommunist sentiments are a general reaction throughout Eastern Europe. Under such circumstances, some political circles try to use these sentiments for their own purposes. Without a doubt, these circles will misinterpret the Soviet Union's apology, and they may build up a noisy campaign around it. We should not pay any attention to that, however, because those people will behave in the same way, regardless of what we do. Nevertheless, the understanding and public recognition of our sins are not only a moral and historical obligation, but also a sign of goodwill and a criterion for good-neighborly relations, once and for all.

Politburo's Yanayev Receives Polish Ambassador

PM1209140190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Conversation at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] G.I. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received S. Ciosek, Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union, at his request on 11 September. During the conversation they discussed principled questions of Soviet-Polish cooperation.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Meets European Commission Deputy

LD1209180490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today received J-L. Cadieux, deputy director general of the Commission of European Communities [CEC], who arrived in the Soviet Union with a group of experts as personal representative of CEC Chairman Jacques Delors.

J-L. Cadieux reported on the course of CEC experts' work, being carried out in line with the accord reached during J. Delors' visit to the USSR in July of this year, into preparing a report to the Council of Europe analyzing the Soviet economy and giving specific proposals on wide-scale cooperation between the states of the European Community and the Soviet Union . During the conversation, several issues were examined on the prospects for cooperation between the USSR and European Community in the context of the economic reforms being carried out in the USSR and the processes of integration taking place in Western Europe.

Austrian Parliamentarians Visit, Discuss Ties

PM1209145790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent: "Guests of the City on the Neva"]

[Text] Leningrad, 8 Sep—An Austrian parliamentary delegation has ended its two-day stay in the city on the Neva.

During a meeting with the guests, Leningrad City Soviet Chairman A.A. Sobchak talked about the legal basis of the free enterprise zone being established in the Leningrad region, conditions and guarantees for foreign investors, ecological projects, and the prospects for reviving Leningrad as a world center for culture, science, and international tourism. In solving these important problems, the chairman stressed, the city soviet is also counting on the participation of foreign firms, including Austrian firms. But Leningraders are interested not only in economic cooperation, but also in the Austrian parliamentary system.

Together with the city's inhabitants the guests today marked the day commemorating the casualties of the time of the blockade. In an interview with a TASS correspondent, R. Poeder, head of the delegation and president of the National Council, said that one of the trip's aims is to study the problems of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. We have come as friends, he noted, and we adhere to the view that relations between the parliaments of Austria and the Soviet Union must be extended.

Lithuanian Officials Greet Swedish Delegation

LD1109214690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpt] As was announced earlier, a large Swedish cultural delegation, led by Swedish Deputy Foreign Minister Pierre Schori, has arrived in Lithuania.

Today, the guests from Sweden were received by the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene, and Deputy Prime Minister Romualdas Ozolas.

The Swedish guests also participated and spoke at the Supreme Council meeting.

Many professional contacts are planned, in addition to official obligations. [passage omitted]

Italy's Foreign Minister to Visit 14, 15 Sep

LD1109164290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] In accordance with an agreement, de Michelis, Italian Minister of foreign affairs, will make a working visit to Moscow from 14 to 15 September.

Soviet Aircraft Crashes at Air Show in Italy

PM1209110790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A Soviet Su-27 fighter-interceptor crashed Sunday during a display in the area of Salgareda, northern Italy, where an international aerobatics display was being held. The pilot, Rimas Stankevicius, was killed along with one of the ground services team at the local airfield. Eight people were injured. The cause of the crash is being investigated.

Spy Charges Against Businessman in Italy Cited

90UF0521 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 9 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by A. Nadzharov: "Spy Passions"]

[Text] *When you turn on your television set before the Vremya program begins, against the blue background of the screen a familiar inscription appears in white letters: Olivetti. To this day the name of this Italian firm is associated among Soviet specialists mainly with excellent electronic equipment. Now it is associated with international espionage, of which they are accusing our compatriot, Viktor Dmitriyev, a 46-year-old worker of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.*

On 10 July right before the eyes of his colleagues in the ministry he was arrested without an order in one of the tourist hotels. And soon—also in violation of the law—without a witness from the Soviet side, a search of his room was conducted.

What happened?

From a group of similar articles that appeared in the Italian press all at the same time it follows that on the seat of the car of one of the Olivetti workers they discovered a package of technical documentation describing the method of protecting computers from outside interference. This worker, Maria Antonietta Valente, allegedly stated that she was taking the package to V. Dmitriyev, which somehow was considered enough to arrest him. Naturally, the Soviet specialist was disturbed and stated that, although some Italians had made secret suggestions of this kind to him, he had categorically rejected them.

Two Italian names also figure in the "Dmitriyev affair": Marco Rosso, a worker at the Milan branch of the American electronics company Digital, and Roberto Mariotti, the chairman of Olivetti in the USSR, who is charged with organizing the operation to penetrate into the "secrets" of Western technical equipment.

The fantastic assumptions do not end here. According to certain Italian publications, the Apennine peninsula is simply a home for "Soviet spies." They allegedly travel there not singly but in groups. Therefore I can imagine how relieved the newspaper LA STAMPA felt when it wrote:

"Today there is no longer any Soviet spy network. It disappeared at 2400 hours between 9 and 10 July when 10 Soviet workers (Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations) hastily flew to Moscow. This was not simply a departure but a disorderly retreat. For a worker of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, a GRU (Main Intelligence Administration of the Soviet Army) agent, had been arrested. Their names, which are already known to the Intelligence and Military Security Service (SISMI) were recently given to all border posts. From now on these people are to be considered "undesirables" and if they try to come into the territory of Italy, they are not to be allowed in."

With an elementary check it became clear that neither on that night nor on any other close to the day that was mentioned did any group of Soviet specialists leave Italy. Although at that time there were some Soviet specialists in Turin on a short business trip. This was the traditional working practice with bilateral relations through the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. They left on 29 July when their business trip was over. In light of the above, the assertion that the names of the "Russian spies" were given to all Italian border posts, which were instructed to keep their eyes open, seems rather amusing.

"The dual purpose of this action," in the words of IL GIORNALE, was not only to block off a "dangerous spy channel" but also at the same time to frighten Gorbachev's agents...."

The only interesting thing is why they were so sure that Dmitriyev was a GRU agent. How did the newspaper find out about this? From Dmitriyev? Ridiculous. From the GRU leaders? Hardly. The GRU probably made its appearance simply because even the SISMI was bored with the abbreviation KGB.

Of course there is nothing unusual in the fact that workers of the special services of one country are interested in the secrets of another. It would be hypocritical in our day not to admit the existence of intelligence and technical espionage. Here is what I was told in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Since the middle of 1989 Dmitriyev had been working on problems of buying personal computers form the Olivetti firm. On the Italian side its workers R. Mariotti and M. Valente were participating in the negotiations. And Valente had done all of the work of searching in Italy for the necessary electronic equipment and documentation for it which was included in a technical assignment that is usual in these cases.

One time, when Dmitriyev arrived in Italy in June 1990, Valente introduced him to Marco Rosso, a representative of the branch of the American firm Digital in Milan, who expressed his readiness to participate in working contacts with Soviet foreign trade organizations. During the meeting Rosso tried to give Dmitriyev a package of materials on computer protection equipment of the Tempest standard so that he could read it over. But since accepting such materials was not a part of Dmitriyev's duties, he refused them.

Valente continued her business meetings with Rosso within the framework of working on a technical assignment received from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. At one of these, as they reported in the Italian newspapers, Rosso handed over to her a printed envelop which was supposed to have contained ordinary commercial materials. But as soon as the woman took it, before she had a chance to look inside and verify its content, she was handcuffed.

A good deal has been written in the Italian press about the fact that Rosso was especially recruited by the special services to conduct this "operation." The conclusion was obvious: If the special services had not managed to catch Dmitriyev "red-handed," they still would have "pulled off their stunt" with Valente so that then they could have blown the affair up cold war style. Here not only Dmitriyev but also all the Soviet business people abroad were accused of economic piracy.

What? Gorbachev's agents. As it turns out there was no proof of the guilt of all the "agents" named in this connection, which is also admitted by a number of Italian lawyers who are familiar with this clearly fabricated case.

But what about Mariotti? It was written in several newspapers that he hid from "retribution" behind his own criminal activity for organizing the theft of economic secrets. In fact the Italians are well aware that he is in the USSR, in Moscow as an Olivetti representative.

In his letter, which we learned about in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, he writes that he left the capital for a certain amount of time and went to another city where he learned from the newspapers about what had happened in Italy on 10 July. "Now the natural thing would be for me to come to Italy and participate personally in this investigation which is being conducted," he writes, "but even though I was innocent, as one can see from the announcements in the press, I was the object of persecution."

As one can see from the information in the Soviet media, the trial of Dmitriyev and Valente may take place at the end of the year. Judging from this same press, during the time that is left the special services are trying feverishly to pick up the missing "links in the chain," namely the "tracks" which Dmitriyev could have left during the time he was working in Western countries. So far all who have been accused in this case have been removed from the normal course of life and separated from their families. Such is the sad result of a "witch hunt."

A couple of words in conclusion. Two interesting facts became known recently. Some time ago the U.S. President mentioned to one of the leaders of Italy that the Olivetti firm was working for the Soviet military-industrial complex, supposedly making deliveries of equipment for the production of parts for YaK-41 fighters with vertical takeoff and landing. It followed from another communication that the director of the U.S. CIA had promised all kinds of support for American firms in their competitive struggle for the sales market.

"Was it not Digital they had in mind? No matter how you look at it, the Italian SISMI for some reason became a champion for protecting the 'secrets' of an entirely different state. It spoke out in favor of this American electronics concern. Yet the competitor... was the Olivetti firm."

Anyway the special commission of the Italian Government, working in conjunction with the Americans and appointed for a detailed study of the Olivetti's activity, found nothing prejudicial.

One might ask why the Soviet press did not restrict itself to supporting its compatriot, V. Dmitriyev. Why did it come out on the side of the Italian concern which for an entire year had literally been in a fever from so many "disclosures" of its activity in the Soviet market? The fact is that in the USSR the Olivetti firm is known as a solid, respected partner which is honestly fulfilling its commitments and has never violated any ethical or other generally accepted norms. And that must not be underestimated.

Owners of Swedish Firm on Ties to Soviet Firms

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[Interview with Hans Tennisberg and Cliff Brannstrom, owners of the Swedish firm Galvur, by E. Sorokin and N. Kepko from the "Vremya" newscast—statements by Tennisberg and Brannstrom in Swedish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Reporter] Tashkent's Sredazelektroapparat Plant recently concluded a contract with the well-known Swedish firm Galvur for the installation of a new entirely automated electroplating and purification line. It will be installed in October. Specialists from Uzbekistan recently visited Norrkoping and familiarized themselves with the state-of-the-art world-standard equipment. The Galvur firm develops and builds automated systems for various types of surface processing with specially selected water purification systems to protect the environment. One of the firm's installations is in operation at the Volvo plant, for instance, coating rear axle pinions with manganese phosphate. The Galvur firm also supplies equipment for the manufacture of printed circuit boards used in heart pacemakers. There is equipment to gild crystal chandeliers, which are in great demand in many countries, incidentally—not least in the Near East,

where they grace a number of palaces. Now a brief interview with the firm's owners—Hans Tennisberg and Cliff Brannstrom. Hans, could you please say a few words about your firm's links with Soviet enterprises?

[Tennisberg] We installed our first electroplating line and water purification equipment in Tallinn's Salvo [as heard] Plant. We have supplied equipment to the Moskvich Production Association. In the very near future we will embark on the installation of printed circuit boards at a new factory in Leningrad.

[Reporter] Cliff, it is no secret that many of our enterprises are insolvent. Does that bother you?

[Brannstrom] As far as payments are concerned, everything used to be in order. Over the past six months something is gone wrong. We have bills dating back five or six months which still have not been paid. But I think it will all be sorted out.

Supreme Soviet

Ryzhkov Addresses 11 Sep Supreme Soviet Session

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[Unattributed account of "Report by the USSR Government on the Preparation of a Single All-Union Program for the Transition to Regulated Market Economy and the Elaboration of Measures for Stabilizing the Country's National Economy" delivered by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session in the Kremlin 11 September]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies!

The country is on the threshold of the adoption of major decisions which will fundamentally change its economic structure, the system of ownership relations, the management structure, and the whole sphere of economic relations. This historic step is dictated by the logic of the renewal of socialism and by life itself, and proper consideration and a thorough forecast of the possible consequences of actions to be taken are especially necessary here. And naturally, over-simplification and lack of thought are not permissible here, especially now that the practical implementation of everything planned needs to be started.

These are not some sort of abstract reflections. Decisions need to be made in an exceptionally complex economic and sociopolitical situation. The national economy is in deep crisis. The slump in social production is continuing, the commodity-money imbalance is growing, economic ties are being destroyed. A reversion to bartering is occurring, and group egoism and local separatism are patently manifesting themselves to an ever greater degree.

The rapid growth in the population's money income has not been successfully curtailed. New shortages are continually arising on the consumer market. The country's situation with regard to foreign currency is in a critical state.

The deepening of the crisis on all fronts at the contemporary stage cannot be explained solely by economic factors. It is evident that the instability of the political situation is having an increasingly adverse effect on the economy.

People in the country are ceasing to take laws into account, and respect for the organs of power and management—from rural soviet executive committees to the USSR Council of Ministers—has been undermined. New processes not known in the past have emerged such as mass strikes, interethnic conflicts, the economic blockade of whole regions, and stoppages at production units of priority significance for the national economy. All this has been interwoven into a tight knot of most acute political and economic problems.

There are no traditional solutions under such conditions. They are especially lacking in the conditions of growing crisis of power at all levels. The CPSU, as a real governing force in the past, has moved away from the resolution of specific economic questions while the soviets have not yet properly mastered the art of management. They have still to learn the practical science of the leadership of society, to acknowledge the necessity for daily and everyday work and the whole complexity of specific problems which are vitally important for people, and to fully take upon themselves the responsibility for resolving them. To this it should be added that the crisis of power in many ways results from the fact that legislative organs have started supplanting executive ones to an ever greater degree. This has already been felt also at local level.

Where is the way out? In the economic sphere the government, as before, associates this with the transition to a regulated and socially oriented market.

Attitudes toward the market vary. Some people see it as the panacea to all our misfortunes, the only chance to build a genuinely contemporary, flourishing society. Others regard the market with doubts, fearing a worsening of their living conditions, especially at the transition stage. Still others—there are no small number of these either—do not accept the idea itself in principle.

Be that as it may, the country and the people are faced with an extremely crucial choice. Naturally this requires from the USSR Supreme Soviet, from Union republic supreme soviets, and from all management organs a thorough comparison of the proposed drafts and options for transition to the market when the action program is being elaborated.

At the same time the government realizes that extremely complex work lies ahead. Here it is necessary to take into account the situation prevailing in the country, and it dictates the following.

First. It is necessary to coordinate the timing of measures ensuring both transition to the market and stabilization of the economic situation in the country. And first and foremost it is necessary to especially single out a reduction in the budget deficit, recovery of the money circulation situation, consolidation of the ruble's prestige and purchasing power, and complete satisfaction of the consumer market.

Second. Things need to be viewed realistically, and when discussing major and radical changes we should not forget that economic life cannot be suspended for even a single day. The movement of trains and airplanes; the smelting of metals; and the work of chemical enterprises, livestock complexes, and bakeries should not be interrupted. In order to prevent this, it is necessary that economic ties be preserved side by side with the development of market relations whatever the cost may be, and that these ties are not allowed to be broken either in the time remaining until the end of this year or in 1991.

The third, and perhaps the main point, is to achieve political stability, to restore respect for legality and law and order, and to most rigorously observe executive discipline. A country in which the law ceases to operate inevitably becomes an arena for the clash of opposing groups, the influence of corrupt elements intensifies, and destructive processes exert growing pressure on the system of management.

Aware of its responsibility, the government clearly and unambiguously states that if these three conditions—stabilization of the economy, maintenance of its viability at the necessary level, and political stability of society—are not met, then chaos could ensue in the country.

There is not a single day to be wasted. The only chance is to launch the economy's real stabilization right away and to accelerate its pace during the last quarter of this year. The main point is to finish bringing in the harvest with minimal losses and to swiftly and resolutely eliminate the gross blunders committed in places which forced the USSR Government to adopt emergency measures. It is necessary to prevent further outbursts of panic buying on the consumer market and to immediately make up for any time lost in preparations for the winter.

By dint of the aforementioned causes, the volume of industrial output declined by 0.7 percent and national income dropped by two percent during the first eight months. The decline of contractual discipline continued. Whereas the total shortfall of output deliveries to consumers under contracts amounted to a total of 5.2 billion rubles [R] during this period last year, delivery shortfalls in the national economy have already already reached R8.2 billion this year.

Of course all this could not have failed to affect production, especially material and technical supplies. Many enterprises are in a constant state of turmoil while some are on the brink of shutdown. The declining standards of the national economy's manageability is having an extremely negative effect on the state of the economy.

The government has constantly monitored the questions of production and has promptly taken measures whenever breakdowns occurred. Resources were concentrated on the unblocking of choke points. Import questions were resolved. To put it briefly, painstaking daily work was done which, despite all the difficulties, made it possible to ensure the minimum production pace that was necessary. But these efforts failed to improve the situation since the main causes of economic destabilization were not eliminated but continued to grow.

A special government group headed by Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was set up to solve current questions associated with the national economy's functioning in these complex conditions.

At the same time, it is necessary to finally overcome the "center syndrome" which has grown deep roots in society over many years, in other words the perception of the USSR government as the sole organ responsible for the state of affairs in any sphere, in any region in the country. In the conditions of decentralization of power and the transfer of many management functions to republic and local level, "heaping up" everything on the center means shifting the blame for one's own irresponsibility and inaction and confusing people.

Comrades!

Particular concern is caused by the situation that is taking shape with the formation of the 1991 plan and budget. Their elaboration is being implemented on fundamentally new tenets which take into account the beginning of the transition to market relations while preserving the methods of direct state regulation within certain limits.

The foundations for the introduction of new market relations in economic life next year have been laid by the laws already adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, including on the demarcation of powers between the Union republics and the USSR.

The formation of plans and budgets has to take place in conditions of stability of the most important legal norms of economic legislation. These are primarily the norms contained in the laws on ownership, on land, on leasing, on the enterprise, and on taxation.

If we now renounce them economic life will become completely disorganized. Unfortunately the desire of supreme soviets in several Union republics to revise laws already adopted has led to a situation whereby many local soviets still do not know what proportion of tax revenues they will have at their disposal next year. This means that they cannot determine the expenditure part of the budget, either. And yet the main item of expenditure comprises expenditure on social measures and the wages of teachers, physicians, and cultural workers.

It is certain that life will introduce its own amendments to these legislative acts, especially following the conclusion of the new Union treaty. But this will take quite a long time. And yet there are just over three months left until the new year. Can it be realistically expected that new laws to replace these will be adopted during this brief period and notified to enterprises? Of course not. Such vagueness on this issue could have a fatal effect on the national economy's functioning.

One of the fundamental issues in state regulation next year will be to preserve the economic ties existing between enterprises and to substantially enhance their responsibility for honoring delivery commitments. This is particularly important in a situation when economic levers have not yet started to operate, conditions have not been created for competition, and tough antimonopoly measures have not yet begun to function.

Mandatory state orders for all-Union needs are being substantially reduced which is opening up broad possibilities for the development of market relations.

For the purpose of the normal functioning of the most important sectors, and primarily those supplying people's needs, the government is making provision for state support for such national economic complexes as the agro-industrial and the fuel and energy complex, and also for the fulfillment of the most important scientific and technical programs and fundamental research.

The work of the national economy in 1991 will be adversely affected by the country's foreign currency situation. The level and structure of the foreign debt requires R12.5 billion in freely convertible currency for its servicing. This means that the volume of raw and other materials, components, consumer goods, medicines, and foodstuffs bought for such foreign currency has to be reduced approximately threefold as against 1990. This cannot fail to have an effect on the balance of the national economy, and primarily on the production of consumer goods.

It is necessary to find a solution here jointly with the Union republics. If we do not find one, it means that the national economy will suffer.

In these conditions the government, which bears prime responsibility for extricating the country from the crisis, has to have powers commensurate with this responsibility. It is necessary to immediately reopen enterprises which have been shut down by local organs of power without the consent of the Union and republican governments and to introduce a special regime of management in railway transport, in the oil and gas main pipelines, and in other spheres meeting the population's vital needs. It is necessary within the shortest time to reach agreement with labor collectives on a voluntary no-strike agreement for this year and next year.

The country's government is fully aware of the acuteness of the problem of ensuring legality and law and order, of protecting citizens' safety, of curtailing organized crime, and of preventing its growth to the level of mafia structures.

A decision has been made to task the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Emergency Situations with coordinating the activity of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the KGB—with broad participation by labor collectives—in combating crime and in imposing the necessary order in towns and population centers. The role of prosecutor's offices and courts has to be substantially stepped up.

At the same time, the corresponding organs at republic and local level must take immediate measures and take advantage of the opportunities provided by the USSR Constitution for combating crime in all its manifestations.

We are building a rule-of-law state and we must strictly observe the rules of behavior appropriate to it. Supreme authority in a rule-of-law state is vested in the law. Observance of the law has to be sacred, and punishment for disregarding it has to be inescapable. The full force of state power, the full might of public opinion, and the full potential of the mass media now have to be directed toward defending the law. Otherwise legal nihilism, a backward slide, and new versions of arbitrary rule by the authorities or by unofficial social structures are inevitable.

Until a new Union treaty is signed, the need for which is obvious, everyone must strictly observe the USSR Constitution and the laws adopted in accordance with it.

The elaboration of the draft plan and budget, and of relevant forecasts for 1991, is now being completed jointly with the Union republics. They will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet on time. You will see that these documents really reflect all our difficulties and the measures to overcome them.

The government is duty bound to state with utmost responsibility: Unless we manage to cope with all the negative factors of which I have spoken, the decline of business activity which is now under way will be substantially intensified. Expert appraisals and estimates testify to the following reality: National income and industrial output might drop by up to 15 percent compared with the current year, investment in production by up to 35 percent, and capital investment in the nonproduction sphere by up to between five and eight percent. This will inevitably lead to unemployment and a substantial drop of the population's real incomes. It is obvious that this cannot be allowed to happen.

Esteemed members of the USSR Supreme Soviet!

It is precisely because it is guided by the realities of life that the government is obliged to persistently defend a radically moderate option for transition to the market. It is fully set forth in the draft government program which, in accordance with a resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was worked out by 1 September of this year. This program develops and concretizes the approaches approved by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

I could have announced it today as a completed document revealing in detail its content, the logic and the stages of movement toward the market, and the specific measures planned along individual avenues. It seems to me, however, that this should not be done.

As you know, in compliance with a directive from the USSR president a concept for a program of transition to the market was prepared and now, under an accord reached at a sitting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation, work is in hand to combine this material with what has been proposed by the government. A single document should be created on the basis of these two programs. It is intended that it will be submitted for consideration by the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics and the USSR.

It must be said that these two drafts have much in common. First of all, they have a single aim: To lead the

country out of the crisis and to boost the prosperity of the Soviet people on the basis of the formation of a qualitatively new system of economic management—a socially oriented market economy. Many of the trends and specific measures to be implemented en route to the market coincide. I have in mind financial and money circulation recovery, the strengthening of the ruble, the establishment of diverse forms of ownership, demonopolization, the development of enterprise and the revival of the free commodity producer as the main protagonist in market relations, and the formation of a market infrastructure and new approaches to foreign economic activity.

We are extremely interested in actively and jointly carrying out this work, primarily because it will give us a chance to adjust the government's position time and time again on such fundamental issues as the tactics of moving toward the market on the basis of appraising the real situation and its specific manifestations, and consequently the possibilities and timescale for stabilizing the situation in the country which is currently the main demand. To ignore it would mean getting carried away by illusions. This is one of the government's most important positions which we will defend in the joint work on the single program.

The perestroyka of economic mutual relations within the Union is certainly the most complex question which largely determines the contents of the program for transition to the market.

You know that active work is currently under way to prepare a new Union treaty many of whose aspects, including the economic section, are now the topics of sharp debate. Since this work is encountering difficulties, the government has taken the following stance: It would be an unforgivable mistake to postpone transition to the market until the Union treaty is concluded.

What actions are proposed in these conditions? It is necessary to try and reconcile two most important trends: The process of strengthening Union republics' state and economic sovereignty on the one hand, and the need for integration which really exists in today's world on the other.

We therefore believe that three fundamental principles must underlie the program.

First. Recognition of the sovereignty of Union republics, of their equality and economic autonomy. In this process, the powers of sovereign republics are exercised on the basis of optimal separation of the functions of republican and Union management, the basis of the supremacy of legislation in line with the separation of powers. It stems from this provision that Union republics will autonomously elaborate and implement a package of measures for transition to the market in line with the agreed all-Union program. Second. Creation of conditions for shaping the all-Union market as basis for the efficient functioning of each Union republic's economy and for the deepening of integration processes. Its practical application requires coordinated activity by all Union republics on questions of money, credit, financial, and customs policy; implementation of interrepublic programs; and management of a a series of sectors of all-Union importance. We are firmly convinced that only such a market will provide a lasting economic foundation for the renewed union as an integrated state.

Third. To have both the center and the sovereign republics provide the most favorable conditions for free operations by enterprises under all forms of ownership. Essentially, this means that the main protagonists in the all-Union market are autonomous enterprises and entrepreneurs enjoying broad economic rights in the production and sale of their output.

I assume that these approaches have nothing in common with claims that the government is ignoring declarations of republics' sovereignty or is striving to retain a unitary state. The time has come to dot all the "i's". We are, after all, talking of the Union as a federal state with all the ensuing advantages, both in the country's domestic life and in the foreign economic and foreign policy spheres. This is precisely how the government envisages the Union. We are talking about an economic union of states or, as some people are already saying, of countries according to the European Community principle.

Recognition of Union republics as the sole and only subjects of state regulation of the economy, perception of Union property as joint (shared) property of Union republics, and provisions that economic subjects pay exclusively republican and local taxes while Union organs of management are not built according to the federal principle—all this means the USSR's elimination as an integrated state.

The government will not accept such a path. Our country's peoples will suffer grave losses along this path, primarily as a result of disintegration. Hence our proposals to delimit the functions of the Union and of Union republics. They are spelled out in the program.

Changes in the system of all-Union management organs are directly associated with them. Their formation ought to be detached from the functions to be delegated by republics to the Union. These will not be formal and cosmetic changes in the organizational structure of management as in the past, but radical transformations of this structure.

But this, comrades, is the ultimate goal. It should be achieved at the time when the market mechanism is fully functional.

Until that time it will be necessary to retain to a certain extent some of the structures currently in operation, and this is exceptionally important right now in the period of the economy's stabilization. It is impossible to do away with existing management structures until new ones have emerged.

Stabilization and the market's establishment are unimaginable without a tough finance and credit policy. The authors of all drafts for the transition to market relations are unanimous in recognizing this.

Elimination of the budget deficit as the main generator of inflation, flexible taxation policy, application of economic methods for regulation of the entire money circulation, stepping up the role of credits and interest, interlinkage between the incomes of participants in social production and the end results of labor—the creation of these and other elements of a market economy does not give rise to any objections either. Appropriate specific proposals are also contained in the government program.

But despite the unanimity in identifying strategic goals, substantial differences emerged as regards approaches toward the ways to achieve them. I wish to especially emphasize the different forecasts and estimates regarding the possible reduction of the budget deficit.

It is well known that its upper limit was set by the USSR Supreme Soviet at R60 billion in 1990. But additional decisions were adopted on acute social problems. More material assistance was provided for children, grain purchase prices were raised. A series of other measures were also planned. All this created a threat that the deficit limit might be exceeded. The government is taking specific steps to prevent this happening.

Preliminary estimates show that the budget deficit might sharply increase in 1991. Union republics estimate their own budget deficits alone at more than R130 billion.

Of course these are not yet the final figures; they will be more accurately calculated. One point is clear, however: These will be the toughest problems when elaborating the 1991 plan. The USSR Supreme Soviet still has to thoroughly consider these questions.

The government program for transition to the market identifies the goal: To reduce the budget deficit next year to approximately R25-30 billion or to 2.5 to 3.0 percent of gross national product. This is a very complex task. All economic organs are now at work seeking its solution. Any further reduction of the deficit—and this is confirmed by estimates—would be impossible without inroads into social programs.

In the course of the joint work to prepare the single program, of which I have already spoken, it was suggested that we should end the current year with a deficit of approximately R40 billion and arrive at a fully balanced Union budget by March next year, while also eliminating deficits in the Union republic budgets. The real state of affairs shows that it is impossible to achieve this within this timescale and without large-scale infringements of working people's vital interests. And yet this is the basis used to build the concept of accelerated transition to the market and the creation of a market economy with all its attributes over a period of 12 to 18 months, something which took decades for other countries to accomplish.

The government, standing on positions of realism and aware of its responsibility to the people, cannot accept such an approach. This means that it would become necessary to suspend the introduction of the new Law on Pensions and to give up the planned assistance to families with children. We have no right to disappoint people's expectations.

I should now like to dwell upon the government's position regarding the reform of price formation. Here, too, we are primarily guided by life's specific demands. The most important demand today consists of the need to adopt a decision either to embark upon a one-shot price increase controlled by the state or to take the road to the market on 1 January next year with free price formation.

We justify our position in favor of a one-shot revision of wholesale prices primarily by the fact that an immediate transition to free price formation will, in today's most difficult conditions, lead to huge price rises and the destabilization of economic life, disorienting enterprises during the formation of the production program. For this reason the government proposes implementing a centralized review of wholesale prices with their subsequent liberalization.

Specifically about retail prices, I will not repeat what I have already said time and again on this subject. I will only point out that the government is openly telling the people about the need for a one-shot price rise with full compensation to the population for the ensuing higher cost of living.

At the same time it is proposed not to raise in 1991 prices of certain types of refrigerators, television sets, radio equipment, and some light industry goods to a total sum of about R8.5 billion.

The question of raising prices of liquor and vodka products and municipal services is being taken off the agenda. It is also proposed to reduce the prices of a series of light industry goods by R5 billion.

The year 1991 will see the beginning of the gradual transition of certain groups of goods to free pricing, bringing the proportion of these goods to 70 percent in 1992.

What is the essence of the other option which is being insistently proposed to the people?

I have already spoken about prices of goods intended for production and technical purposes. It is also proposed to abandon the new purchase prices [for agricultural produce], starting to form these prices from scratch on a contractual basis. But how this is to be implemented—the authors of the draft do not say. For example, with whom will kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukraine reach agreement on purchase prices for sugar beet, grain, livestock, and other

types of produce? As a result of this, agriculture too will be placed in conditions of complete uncertainty and vagueness of prospect of economic work in 1991.

As for retail prices, here too what is proposed is essentially their uncontrolled growth in the process of transition to free price formation.

The all-round forecast appraisals and estimates which have been carried out show that in this case their growth will be severalfold. This is also confirmed by the experience of many countries: Yugoslavia, Poland, and others. The question arises: Who will provide compensation for such an increase, in what measure can this compensation be implemented, who will bear the brunt of this rampant rise in prices? Our own analysis and foreign practice alike show that this will mean that losses will be borne primarily by the lower and middle income strata of the population. They have to take on their shoulders the burdens of the accelerated transition to market price formation. The standard of living will fall by 30 percent or perhaps even more. Unpredictable rates of inflation will spiral in the country. This is what the proposals on giving up administrative price increases may mean in reality.

True, the authors of this draft propose maintaining the prices of 150 categories of goods. But a study of the list of these goods makes it clear that the total sum of their sales at current prices amounts to R25-30 billion. This is less than seven percent of the goods turnover and embraces only 25 percent of the minimum consumer budget. It is proposed, for example, out of all types of bread to retain current prices only for white bread at 13 kopeks a stick, and for "Orlovskiy" bread; and of all fish products only for cod; and to sell all other types of bread and fish at free prices. It is natural that low-priced food products will simply disappear from the trade network.

Therefore the government cannot embark on the implementation of such proposals. This would be an irresponsible step. Given such a diversity of positions, it is in our view impossible to find a compromise. A choice has to be made here.

Comrades!

Briefly on the government's position regarding approaches to the establishment of market relations in the agrarian sector. Its essence boils down to the following:

First, we cannot agree with proposals which count primarily on peasants' farms, the introduction of private ownership of land, and permission for its purchase and sale through a system of land banks with a forecast—unconfirmed by calculations—that one in every four kolkhozes and sovkhozes might be bankrupt already by 1 January 1991.

The Union government considers that neither now nor in the future should kolkhozes and sovkhozes be pitted against autonomous peasants' farms. The main point is not to pit them against one another, but to give the peasant himself the right to choose the conditions of land husbandry, of improving them by way of production and other cooperatives and sensible specialization and integration on the basis of diverse forms of ownership. A rational combination of social production by kolkhozes and sovkhozes with peasants' farms, cooperatives of various types, and the population's personal farms—this is how we envisage the model of a mixed agrarian economy.

Second, we perceive as inconsistent the propositions that the degree of supplying agriculture with the main types of machinery already exceeds real needs, and the ensuing proposals to switch to free prices and wholesale trade in the main means of production.

The government considers it expedient to preserve guaranteed supplies of the main types of machines and equipment to the agro-industrial complex at centrally fixed wholesale prices for the transition period. This has to be done without fail in the interests of accelerated retooling of the agricultural sector, and particularly of the processing sectors, and also in connection with the need to protect the farms' interests from the diktat of the producers of equipment and from an uncontrolled rise in prices for it.

Third, we cannot, as is being proposed, reduce concern for the social development of rural areas to the mere provision of various benefits to regions where peasant farms are being set up. The problem lies considerably deeper. It is precisely here that we need fundamentally new approaches and solutions, coordinated actions, and comprehensive programs in every republic, kray, oblast and rayon.

These are in essence the most important avenues of agrarian policy on whose implementation the efforts of the Union and republic governments need to be concentrated.

Comrade people's deputies!

Our program is designed for an open economy, for the integration of the domestic market with the world market. Its main thrust is to create a competitive economic mechanism in the country and to guarantee enterprises' foreign economic autonomy.

This is precisely why it is based upon the unity of an all-Union market; of a customs, currency, and patent territory; and of the fundamentals of economic legislation. The establishment of a new exchange rate for the ruble, the achievement of its convertibility, and the assimilation of new forms of cooperation pursue the very same aims.

All these approaches are reflected in the drafts for new customs, investment, and foreign currency legislation which have been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet and which you have already started to debate.

The foreign economic sections of both programs contain a great deal in common and can be merged. True, we still have complex work to do to prevent curtailment of the rights of enterprises, including the right to deal with foreign currency profits, to prevent any erosion of the Union's status as a business partner, and to prevent the devaluation of the entire system of our international treaties.

According to the government program, foreign capital will be attracted mainly in the form of capital investment in the production sector as represented by various forms of ownership. This is meeting with understanding among foreign business circles. We cannot rely on financial aid from the West running into many billions and mainly geared to current consumption. It is highly dubious that we would thus succeed in shifting the social cost of transition to the market onto the outside world. Nor is it clear how we would later repay these loans.

And the final, but actually the most important point. In putting forward the program for transition to a new economic model, the government proceeds from the premise that the main aim of the planned transformations is to create an opportunity and conditions for all the citizens of our country to live the material and spiritual life which they deserve.

Therefore the pivot of the government's program is a comprehensive system of measures providing guarantees that the basic social rights of the population will be implemented and that it will be protected against the negative manifestations of the market.

The organizational and legal foundations of these measures are being elaborated by the government ahead of other matters relating to the shaping of market mechanisms.

First and foremost, it is essential not to permit the emergence of unemployment as a persistent social phenomenon. This must be facilitated by the phased nature of our entry into the market economy, preventing any drastic breakup of its structure. "Draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Population's Employment" have been elaborated and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet in order to consolidate the most important legal and economic guarantees for the population in the labor sphere.

Great importance is being attached to the creation of a well-structured system of social guarantees and support for the most vulnerable groups among the population: Pensioners, families with children, and the disabled, for whom essential measures are envisaged in the laws and government resolutions which have been adopted. As for the disabled, a draft USSR law on their social protection has been submitted for your consideration.

It is a fundamental aspect of the building of a system of guarantees for these categories of the population that only minimum levels of the relevant payments and benefits are set at all-Union level. On the one hand, this enhances people's social confidence, and on the other hand it does not limit the opportunities available to republics to increase these payments.

And of course, immense importance is attached to protecting the population's purchasing power in the event of mounting inflationary processes. We are firmly convinced that citizens must be fully compensated for a one-shot rise in prices, and it is planned to implement this already this December.

In the course of work on the government program, account was taken of the proposals by Union republics that the total amount of compensation on the basis of actually prevailing consumption levels be transferred to them. The republics will decide for themselves how to distribute these funds among the various groups of the population.

What is more, compensation will be made available not only through supplements to current incomes but also through a recalculation of savings bank deposits and insurance contributions, and also through a change in the face value of securities. To compensate for losses caused by the current growth of prices, the indexing of the population's incomes is to be introduced, regulated by an appropriate USSR law, and interest rates for deposits and securities will be adjusted.

The creation of conditions for the stable functioning of such sectors as education, health care, culture, and art is especially important for ensuring reliable social guarantees for the satisfaction of the population's vital needs. It is essential that the development of market relations does not undermine their economic base and that workers employed there can work to a high standard and engage in creative quest.

We cannot allow this sphere to function chiefly on commercial principles. This is especially dangerous for culture and art where the pursuit of profit will inevitably result in a lowering of moral and aesthetic standards.

Therefore, in addition to increased support for these non-production spheres from the resources of all budgets, the setting up of special targeted funds is envisaged, formed from contributions by enterprises and organizations based on various kinds of ownership and from public donations.

Such are the fundamental approaches to the major problems of the transition to market relations, which the government is convinced are correct and which it is going to defend.

We expect that all this will be taken into account and will make it possible to elaborate a realistic all-Union program for transition to the market.

Comrade people's deputies!

Extrication from the crisis will be possible only if we rely on the trust and support of the people, on the basis of accord between all active sociopolitical forces. But this

also needs continuous and effective executive power vested with the necessary powers. In this context, and in my capacity as head of the country's government, I must tell the USSR Supreme Soviet and the whole people, bluntly and with utmost responsibility, that an unacceptable situation has developed whereby individual political figures have organized a campaign of attacks and misinformation, ultimately aimed at achieving the government's resignation come what may. This intensifies the state of instability in society. It is up to you to decide what to do with your government. It must be either replaced or comprehensively backed in the solution of the tasks facing us.

Concluding my speech, I would like to stress once more that the consolidation and rallying of all healthy forces committed to the economy's stabilization and the country's extrication from the crisis, are more necessary now than ever before. There should be no room here for political ambitions and group interests.

We are duty bound to swiftly conclude the elaboration of a single all-Union program for transition to the market and to resolutely embark on its implementation with the support of the people.

Ryzhkov Discusses Session With Correspondents

LD1209115590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Today in the interval between sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov replied to questions from correspondents. Listen to a portion of the recording.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] In my report today I was speaking only about fundamental disagreements, and I expressed my viewpoint, the viewpoint of the government. As to whether it is liked or not, well, that is another matter. After all I said clearly that the Supreme Soviet has to make a decision, and in the end it will of course make a decision. My job is to say, to warn, well, how I understand matters. This is not my viewpoint alone, this is the viewpoint of specialists, the viewpoint of scientists. The Supreme Soviet, the republics—the Supreme Soviet ultimately has to make a decision.

[Correspondent] Is it impossible to remain leader of the government and not fulfill the decision?

[Ryzhkov] Well in the first place, so far no one has confirmed the program....

[Correspondent, interrupting] What if...

[Ryzhkov] And today no one will confirm it either, and I think that they will not consider this program today. It may be said that this was a kind of interim report on our progress on how we are working. And when the program is considered I think a united program... [changes thought] I think that evidently the viewpoint of the government and the viewpoint of the other group will be expressed, and then ultimately there will be a decision.

[Correspondent] Do you think that your program can be adopted?

[Ryzhkov] I think that if one considers our proposals in a sober way, they are more radically moderate. I think that it is dangerous to dive in without knowing what's down there—asphalt or water. If this matter concerned Ryzhkov alone or a few dozen people, I would not be very concerned about it you know. But when there are 300 million people and 60 million pensioners, one has to have a pretty good think.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Ivanovich, after the morning sitting are you more optimistic than yesterday?

[Ryzhkov] I have not lost my good spirits. I can say one thing: I am fighting for an idea and I believe in this. After all, on the 30th, 31st, and then twice with the president... after all there have been very heated arguments for five, six, seven hours each. We sought to persuade each other. In some places we find common positions, and in others we do not. So I am not losing my spirits, I am not losing them. Otherwise what kind of premier would I be if I yielded without a fight? And so, if my position is not adopted, and I do not believe that it can be implemented, then that is a different matter.

For the present we have not found a common language on these positions. We are convinced that the position which is developing there is too dangerous. [end recording]

Ryzhkov, Abalkin Cited at News Conference

LD1209153390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] During the intermission between the sessions [of the Supreme Soviet] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin spoke at the news conference before Soviet and foreign journalists.

[Correspondent] It is doubtful the smaller conference room in the Supreme Soviet building could accomodate all those wishing to meet the authors of the government program for the transition to the market economy. But Nikolay Ivanovich commenced this talk with the journalists from the most pressing issues: preparations for the 1991.

[Ryzhkov] We have been motivated by the coming approach of 1991. We understood that if we are not ready for the 1991 now we could find ourselves with the programs, maybe even ideal programs, but with national economy not prepared to work under the new conditions. I will tell you, this still worries me. We assumed we have all the prerequisites for transition to the new principles of the regulated market economy in 1991. We think we have enough studies and laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet which already enable us to organize the national economy's work under the new economic conditions. At the same time we have assumed it is also

necessary to use the regulations for the year 1991, we use state regulation because the national economy is not in the position to tranfer itself in one day just to the market economy without, well, a certain state regulation. In our view this is fraught with serious consequences.

[Correspondent] The head of the Soviet Government has stated that in his opinion one document should be discussed in the Union's parliament and the republican Supreme Soviet: the sole program of transition to the market. The political decision at the highest level should be adopted on this issue first of all. Answering the journalists' questions Comrade Ryzhkov has outlined various aspects of the government program.

[Ryzhkov] We think we should have a federal system. We should have in our country a common economic field that enables all the republics and all the regions, irrespective of the territorial or geographic borders, to participate so to speak in the division of labor. This is the main point. We suggest there should be the so- called two-tier taxation, i.e. the tax paid directly to the republic and the tax paid to the Union budget. Each of them, depending on what it receives from these taxes, should build its economic policy so to speak.

[Correspondent] Going into polemics with the authors of the alternative draft for transition to the market, Comrade Ryzhkov has said, in particular:

[Ryzhkov] I am criticized all the time for planning to increase prices. At the same time during the past months everyone says, our opponents say—I will not mention their names—that they stand against increasing the prices. You know, for a man, a simple listening man, this is an ideal version. Ryzhkov increases prices again! I mean, even though he says they should be increased, fixed, and that compensation ought to be forthcoming for these increases, this is still an increase in prices. Others say there is no need to do anything with prices, no need to increase them. Something else is left unsaid. It is a transfer to free prices.

[Abalkin] The whole question is: Which way is the more realistic and corresponds to the conditions that have formed, which leads to the minimal social costs and is capable not to cause such a shock in a few months that will kill—in the population and the government—all the willingness to engage in transition to the market for tens of years to come, but which will accomplish this in a maximally smooth way although in a longer term? Yes, this is a longer way; yes, it is a more moderate way, a moderate-radical way as we call it. In our opinion, however, it meets the reality. The readiness of those who will take up this program to be responsible for doing it... it is difficult and it is painful, but do it.

[Ryzhkov] I have been always in favor of compromises, for sensible compromises, and never behaved as a man who for the sake of some ambtions has disagreed with one or the other sensible suggestion. In this case, if only we can see that there are certain compromises that would not harm our people we will of course come forward. If there are disagreements in principle which in our opinion will create still further decline of the situation in the country, we will defend our positions, so to speak.

[Correspondent] The full report of this conference will be broadcast tomorrow after the "Vremya" program.

Yarin Examines Need for Action on Economy

PM1209095390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

["Blitz Interview" with Veniamin Yarin, member of the USSR Presidential Council, by G. Ovcharenko; place and date not given: "No Marching on the Spot"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] He is always surrounded by people and it is quite difficult to tear him away for an interview. Veniamin Yarin, member of the Presidential Council, has an ambivalent personality—and people's attitude toward him is the same. "Left-wing radicals" have nicknamed him a "special worker" [spetsrabochiy] in the belief that he adheres to extremely right-wing positions. "Right-wing democrats" maintain that at the abrupt turns of life's clashes he tends too much to the left. However, Yarin's electorate is confident that he upholds their rights and interests.

[Ovcharenko] Veniamin Aleksandrovich, which item on the agenda of the Fourth USSR Supreme Soviet Session is most important in your view?

[Yarin] The economy, of course—the transition to market relations. This is a revolutionary moment in perestroyka. Both the country's path and people's socio-economic position depend on how this moment is utilized and which draft laws are approved.

[Ovcharenko] Which program for the transition to market relations—that of Academician S. Shatalin's group or the government one—do you support and why?

[Yarin] You know, I would not contrast one program with the other. After all they have much in common, although there are also substantial differences in the approach to resolving the problem. It is very important here to find a compromise on whose basis it is possible to take a step forward. You understand we are bogged down in approaches, in the discordant search for paths. But it is necessary to take a step. If it is assessed positively we move forward; if it is acknowledged to be a mistake we at once make corrections. The situation does not allow us to march on the spot.

[Ovcharenko] What is your attitude toward the demands by a number of people's deputies of the country and of Russia for the resignation of the Union government headed by Nikolay Ryzhkov?

[Yarin] I would not run the risk of changing the government today for there is no time for this. There is a crisis situation in the country. It is necessary to adopt a program and act. The chief thing here is that the tasks

must be precise and clear, and the government must have real powers to resolve them.

[Ovcharenko] Veniamin Aleksandrovich, in parliament and on the Presidential Council you represent the broadest section of the population—those who, let us put it like this, live on an advance on their wages. To judge from their letters to the editorial office, they hope that you will protect their interests in the transition to a market economy.

[Yarin] I will. These people have quite a different starting point which is weaker than that of those who have taken advantage of the imperfection of our laws and, to put it mildly, managed to make better preparations for market relations and the associated price hike. So it is a question not of plunging at once into the whirl of the market but of moving toward it gradually. It is my opinion that the first step here is to work out a structure and mechanism of market relations so that people have no complaints about their labor remuneration, but are confident that how they eat and clothe themselves depends on how they work. And they must know that they are the masters of their labor and their product, and no department or ministry will take a legally earned income away from them. This is the condition on which it is possible to begin building the market, and then there will be no fear of private ownership.

[Ovcharenko] The last question, Veniamin Aleksandrovich. Will there be a constructive discussion at the session? Or, as has happened before, will there be a struggle not of opinions but of ambitions and political passions?

[Yarin] I would very much like to avoid any confrontation at the session. So I hope for a constructive approach to problems, but I will not venture to guess in advance how the session will go. I only know that I have had enough of arguing. And here I agree with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin: It is time to start acting and to assume responsibility.

Ryzhkov Rejects Charges of Special Privileges

LD1209095890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1838 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Remarks by Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, on allegations in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on his privileges; at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 11 September—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, among this morning's notes I received one which asks on what basis decisions on the sale of central apparatus officials' state dachas has started. A reference is made on an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA today. I want to give an explanation of this so that there is complete clarity on what is being talked about here.

But first I want to speak about myself personally. Neither I nor my second family—my daughter, her husband, and my grandchildren—have had any dachas and we did not have any in the Urals either when we lived there, or in Moscow where we have been living for 15 years. This is my first point.

Second, I am indeed living in a state dacha. I will not talk about what existed before. That was one system; we know it. We have repeatedly discussed it here...the privileges and the fact that they indeed spread at the time.

But this as they say has been discussed. I live in a state dacha together with my family. Honestly speaking, during the past one and a half years I have simply gotten tired of hearing about privileges, of the fact that we are enjoying some special rights. Someone writes that there are governesses, nurses, and wet nurses; there are cooks, etc. For this reason in the past year—I am telling you this frankly, and being a member of the Politburo I think that Mikhail Sergeyevich will confirm this—I repeatedly raised the question that this issue must in the end be resolved. We should not be going around with our heads bowed all the time. We should not always be thinking that someone will reproach us because we are living in a dacha, etc.

Well this system existed and in the past year I have been raising this question all the time—in the end I want to leave the state dacha. I want to live like all people live so that no one can ever point a finger at me anywhere and make claims against me.

Yes I had the idea this summer to buy a dacha, to buy a wooden house even though this article states that Comrade Ryzhkov is buying the state dacha in which he lives. I inquired today how much this dacha would cost, after all. It costs 300,000 [rubles]. This is a dacha I live in. How can there be any question that Comrade Ryzhkov can purchase this dacha? I mean where could I get the money? Well this, as they say, is already a fantasy.

The matter is a different one. But as they say, there is no smoke without a fire. I indeed had the idea to buy a wooden house, to move the house so that I would be a free man [deputies shouting "correct"], a free man [more shouts] so that no one can ever reproach me.

Now this is what has happened. When we began to prepare the documents people started to talk. I became aware of one discussion and then another discussion reached me. I then said this: Well you know, by the looks of it it is not possible for me to have a car and it is not possible for me to have a dacha. I then said.. and I wrote a memorandum requesting that preparations on the whole affair be stopped. And I gave it up for lost which is what I am reporting to you now. I gave it up for lost—that is it. If that is wrong...I want to say further-...once again I want to state this: Although this is not exactly my dream—I am 61 years old and thank God, as they say, my life is now coming to an end—but I am saying this again. Although this did not work out I will still take a smaller dacha and give up the use of all servants so that no one can point a finger at me any longer. I do not want this. That is the first thing.

Second, dear comrades, for you to have an idea you need to have a fuller picture. I want to say that at present the Council of Ministers possesses 222 dachas... 222 dachas. Among them over half are now empty because we indeed adopted a decision a few months ago that the dachas should be released by retired ministers. And according the their position, that is the position they used to hold, they were allowed to live in smaller dachas—as a rule they were provided with small dachas—and they used to spend the rest of their lives there. Duputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers when they retired—many of them were very old men—were also provided as there was such a provision with the opportunity to spend the rest of their lives there.

A few months ago we made a decision and pushed them all out in 48 hours. One of them complained that some were given 72 hours to move out. Yet here we evicted all former ministers, all deputy chairmen, all of them in 48 hours. The dachas remain. We have leased 22. We lease dachas to foreigners among others. We have sold one dacha to the Tereshkova society and given another one to an oncological center for children. Now we are selling two more dachas to the Academy of Sciences, etc. In other words, we need the long run to resolve this question.

And the last thing, I want to address the issue to you as deputies of the Supreme Soviet. We have to understand this soberly just once and make a decision because it will be difficult for me...not for me, it will not be me working. It will be the next people working, but we do need some sort of social protection and these leaders need it too.

They need it, you cannot do things this way. My deputies wrote to me to say—well, once I was working, and after I arrived they soon left and so I received a collective letter. You should have read that letter. We did not do it for moral reasons—the way that I acted—we did not do it for moral reasons, it said. And now we are very old men. It said: You are the chairman that we worked with. Why did you act like that toward us? And what could I reply to these old men? So it seems to me we have to tackle the question, and gradually. You cannot do it in one year, but we have to allow ministers, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, other categories—for example the heads of the Supreme Soviet and other governing bodies—we have to allow them either to build some sort of dacha housing or to buy it, but we cannot leave it just like that. Look, the maintenance on one house, an average house where a minister lived or lives, costs 10,000 rubles a year. Ten thousand rubles. That is to say, the cost can be covered in three or four years.

So we have to make up our minds on this issue. And I think that if we solve this matter gradually, in a few years, this dacha problem which does indeed excites everyone will quite simply disappear altogether. Disappear. And I think this question needs to be examined in commissions, certain decisions should be made so that these questions can be decided clearly and legally.

Resolution Concerning Gulf Situation Adopted

PM1209134190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution: "On the Soviet Union's Stance in Connection With the Situation in the Persian Gulf and on the Results of the Meeting Between President M.S. Gorbachev of the USSR and President G. Bush of the United States in Helsinki"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet **resolves**

1. To take note of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's report on the results of the working meeting between President M.S. Gorbachev of the USSR and President G. Bush of the United States on 9 September 1990.

2. To express support for the Soviet state leadership's stance in the face of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. To approve the joint statement of President M.S. Gorbachev of the USSR and President G. Bush of the United States, which is aimed at achieving a lasting and just peace in the Near East and the Persian Gulf.

3. To deem it expedient that the USSR Foreign Ministry regularly brief the International Affairs Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet as a whole on the development of the situation and the Soviet side's participation in the political settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

4. To approve the measures to evacuate USSR citizens from the conflict zone.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Interviewed on Economy, Germany

LD1209190590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Interview with President M.S. Gorbachev by Sergey Lomakin in Moscow on 12 September; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, speaking yesterday at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session you said that the time for going over to the detailed discussion of the government program must be shortened as much as possible. What state is the program now in?

[Gorbachev] Well, perhaps I will specify that what was said yesterday was that a program must be submitted for which the president is responsible, for the preparation of which the president is responsible already at the final stage. Such a program was submitted today.

Yesterday I received it from a subgroup which at the final stage was headed by Academician Aganbegyan and early this morning it was duplicated and sent to the

USSR Supreme Soviet and to the supreme soviets of the Union republics. I would say that this program basically rests on the concept and on many developments of the group that was led by Academician Shatalin. At the same time it is already a new document, too.

It has taken in, I would say, many ideas and proposals that are contained both in the government program and in the program drawn up by many scientists. It not only takes in entire ideas of some programs as such, entire documents but also many proposals. The most important thing is that in this document there are very many ideas and proposals put forward by our Union republics. I hope that tomorrow everywhere, both in the Supreme Soviet and in the supreme soviets of the Union republics, a start can already be made on the specific study of this draft. That is the first thing.

Second, on the whole this is a crucial matter. The more I was engaged and delved deeply in this work of our scientists and specialists—the work to prepare a document on the basis of which it would be possible to proceed to the market—the more I became convinced that we are facing very major, fundamental changes in the economy and in the entire style of our life. So the entire country is to discuss and determine where it stands.

This is a complicated choice. And it is not the choice of some single person or of a group of persons. The country must make a choice, and having made this choice become involved and advance step by step. This is the first, or rather, this is the second remark.

And the third remark: There will be... I think that whatever program we settle one, whatever variant, this transition will be the most complicated period during the entire... compared with what we have been doing in the years of perestroyka. And one must adopt a businesslike attitude toward this because it must be done. But of course all this must be done in such a way that at this stage of transition there is protection, that the social protection of the population is ensured in the challenges which will follow and especially at the first stage. But we must proceed.

[Tikhomirov] And the second question, Mikhail Sergeyevich: An event is approaching to which, naturally, the Soviet people cannot be indifferent. I mean the date of the unification of the two German states. And it can be said that the conference of participants under the two-plus-four formula is ending. I know that of late you have had several, or two telephone conversations with FRG Chancellor Kohl. If you can, please explain.

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes, yes. Well perhaps, because to sum up the results of each telephone conversation there have been two or three possibilities. These were important conversations. The chancellor and I spoke about a large range of issues connected with this process. But specifically we also discussed questions connected with the conclusion of a new, as we called it a grand treaty, already with unified Germany, with the future unified Germany. The preparations for such a treaty for cooperation between our two states are virtually completed. Tomorrow, evidently, our Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Mr. Genscher will already initial these documents, so to speak.

Other documents have also been prepared, in particular a draft treaty on economic cooperation at the new stage. Everything which we have accumulated in cooperation with the two German states must be preserved and undergo further development with the unified Germany in the interests of our two peoples as well as the interests of Europe and the world. This cooperation between the two great peoples has historic roots despite the dramatic character of the events to which... the war toward which our people were pushed by fascism has nevertheless been preserved in our peoples, and in the past decade this cooperation has been reborn.

This too was discussed. But what was also discussed is that for a certain time—for four years—our troops, a large grouping of forces, will remain. And today I briefly conversed with Mr. Genscher and the chancellor and I had previously discussed this in the Caucasus and over the telephone. The German leadership looks upon our soldiers as representatives of a friendly country.

[Tikhomirov] That is very important.

[Gorbachev] This is an important statement by the German leaders because a definite atmosphere is needed in the years that our soldiers, officers, and generals are there fulfilling their mission, while at the same time the process of their withdrawal is under way and because there are the questions of their maintenance—their legal position and their maintenance—and there are the questions of their transportation and their settlement in when they return here. After all much of what we have constructed is remaining there.

[Tikhomirov] And what we have acquired.

[Gorbachev] Yes, and what we have acquired? You are right. The Germans understand the fact that they should participate in the settlement of our returning servicemen.

[Tikhomirov] That will be fair.

[Gorbachev] That will be fair, and they are responding and are ready to do so within the framework of certain amounts—in my view the amounts being obtained are quite good. I think it is a total of about 15 billion [currency not stated]. Twelve billion will be outlay on upkeep and settlement, and there will be three billion by way of financial aid at the present time. So I would say that everything is being decided on the basis of concord and cooperation—well not immediately and not from the very outset. Arguments are having to be presented to each other, but everything indeed is being accomplished. That is really what was discussed. It was about present-day life.

Possibility of Military Coup in USSR Discussed

AU1309103690 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 13 (AFP)—Two Soviet weeklies have raised this week the possibility of a military coup in the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW NEWS and the LITERARY GAZETTE warned that some hard-line military might be tempted to overthrow the reformist government of President Mikhail Gorbachev despite its popularity with most young officers.

MOSCOW NEWS noted that the Soviet Constitution provides for a state of emergency for which detailed plans have been drawn up. The state of emergency can only be called by the president, but the paper said any of the "most-often-mentioned candidates for military dictatorship" might be tempted to seize power and trigger the emergency. The "candidates," MOSCOW NEWS said, included General Igor Rodionov, noted for his bloody repression of dissent two years ago in Tbilisi, Georgia, and since assigned to a Moscow military academy; General Albert Makashov, who at the last party congress made a scathing attack on perestroika; and General Boris Gromov, a hero of the war of Afghanistan now in charge of the military in much of the west of the country.

The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA speculated that "the military-industrial complex may find that the cheapest and most promising solution of all would be to launch a military coup."

About 50 top officials of the Soviet military industry signed a petition published last week in PRAVDA saying that the country's situation is "critical and getting out of control."

More on KGB Public Relations Center Opening

PM1309092390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 p 3

[Report by V. Mamontov and I. Sichka: "KGB Welcomes Parliamentary Investigation But 'Does Not Intend To Bare its Chest Completely'"]

[Text] Inside, the corridors of the Lubyanka look no worse than other corridors of power: impressive wooden panels, strips of carpet. An exhibition of espionage items was situated on the area allocated to the newly opened USSR KGB Public Relations Center....

Yesterday a presentation of the center and a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists were held. Taking part were A. Karbainov, the center's chief; V. Maslennikov, his first deputy; and A. Mikhaylov, leader of the press service of the KGB directorate for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. It cannot be said that in 90 minutes they entirely satisfied journalists' curiosity—as A. Karbainov wittily noted, "You should not expect us to bare our chests completely."

But from what was said it is possible to reach the unambiguous conclusion that the KGB is reacting to pressure from the public and the press and intends to lift the shrouds of secrecy from some archive and current cases. The style of communication is also changing: The public relations center will cooperate with newspapers, television, and radio as well as with labor collectives, and will also in the future turn its "semiclosed" bulletin into a journal distributed by free subscription.

As a whole, one formed the impression that this measure was about two years late and therefore looks like a reply to a public demand from the day before yesterday. Is the KGB alone to blame? "No," the press conference stated. A whole series of instructions and old normative acts are keeping back the provision of information to the population concerning the KGB's numerical strength, its "voluntary helpers", and the organization's budget, and are impeding access to the archives. That is why the committee welcomes the prospect of a parliamentary investigation of the KGB's activity, stated A. Karbainov. That would help remove many existing anachronisms in the organization's activity. Indeed....

Probably not all journalists believed the sincerity of this statement but they noted that if such an investigation is planned they promise to open all the doors to the deputies....

Also heard at the press conference was the personal opinion of A. Karbainov—a quite rare thing, the personal opinion of an official representative of the KGB—that there should be no hurry in depriving former Major General O. Kalugin of his title and awards.

Aleksandr Mikhaylov partly revealed one more aspect of the organs' work: They often perform the role of an economic and social barometer. In the past the relevant party organs have been informed of developing conflicts in Osh Oblast and Fergana and many other socioeconomic cataclysms. That is why criticism of the KGB, asking where it was looking, is not always correctly aimed. To avoid similar misunderstandings in the future, A. Mikhaylov said, we would like the population to know what we are informing the organs of power about. Journalists were told that recently the information reports of the KGB directorate for Moscow and Moscow Oblast have started to be sent not only to the Moscow CPSU City Committee but also to the Moscow Soviet.

Higher School of USSR KGB Described

90UF0519A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel S. Kalinayev: "I Would Join the Shtirlitses"]

[Text] Shtirlits is legendary and unforgettable, and of course a composite image. But I personally have a strong image of him, and the entire movie entourage associated with him has up to now been associated with the sphere that is handled particularly by our state security organs. And the place where they taught the "Shtirlits method" seemed like something grim and serious, like a bunker.

Moscow, Pelshe Ulitsa, Building 4. An acquaintance with the educational institution located at this address shattered such images into pieces. The complex of attractive buildings, spacious auditoriums and classrooms, the unhurried gait of the professors and docents, politely exchanging bows with their young charges—it all looked like some kind of lyceum. This impression was strengthened by the main body of an art exhibition in the background. I saw the most delicate miniatures and then read on the sign that they were created by a doctoral candidate at the school, candidate of sciences Colonel V. Nikonov. I also stopped and looked at the portraits and landscapes from the brush of student N. Krasavin. And I automatically thought: Am I in the right place?

Later I understood that I was in exactly the right place. One might say that the school sets a dual goal for itself—not only to train professional chekists, specialists in a narrow profile, but also to educate real intellectuals and scholarly types.

In the company of Colonel A. Tsvetkov—doctor of military sciences, professor, and chief of one of the special departments—I visited many training "subdivisions." Anatoliy Isayevich, a living history of the school, has been working here for about 30 years, and when speaking about the present day in this place for molding chekists he actually remembers how everything was created, equipped, and organized. And he also recalled the Great Patriotic War and how, for example, in 1945 he and his comrades wiped out a sabotage reconnaissance group of Abwehr Oberleutenant Otto Schmidt.

It would take a whole story to discuss this in greater detail. But that is not the point. Anatoliy Isayevich spoke about Sergeant Korolenko and other counterintelligence agents who participated in this operation, and I could not keep from asking the question: And could his present-day successors do the same thing? The answer was unequivocal: They could. I do not want to use definitions that seem to be "unfashionable" now but a fact is a fact: Within the walls of the school it is considered to be one of the most important tasks to do everything necessary so as not to break the spiritual bonds among chekists of various generations, so that today's youth will acquire firm philosophical positions and professional skills.

It would be interesting to see the work that is already being prepared for publication by Senior Sergeant Igor Gorshkov. He was born in Tajikistan and grew up in a worker family. There was school, vocational and technical school, and then service in an airborne unit. Then he worked for two years as a plant brigade leader. Here he encountered many problems that are typical of the period of "stagnation," or to put it simply machinations. So he gradually reached a decision to enter school. Igor's grandfather, Petr Seluyanovich, in his day also fought in NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] units against Central Asian anti-Soviets. And much that surrounded the young chap seemed to resemble the behavior of these anti-Soviets—the continuous robbery on a new level, plundering or the wealth of their own country.

"I want justice to take the upper hand in our life," Igor Gorshkov told me.

My God, this chap evokes real sympathy by taking this position. Firm and tested. And the same is true of many of his school fellows whom I had occasion to meet. I saw these friendly, cheerful boys in school uniforms in the criminology laboratory learning to work with various audiovisual means, so-called evidence technician kits, metal detectors, and other such equipment. They were working in the training laboratory, the classroom was equipped with computer terminals, and sharpening their boxing skills in the gym. I looked with excitement at the unique displays assembled in the Cheka office—a kind of museum which also plays a considerable role in training and methodology. We also looked in on the department of operations and tactical training, and observed a special class on tactics. Here I learned that every student must gain a firm grasp of modern troop combat and operations, military topography, communications, and protection from mass destruction weapons. It goes without saying that there was also firing, tactical, and engineering training....

"There are now continuous processes of restructuring going on in our educational institutions as they are everywhere in the country," the chief of the school, Lieutenant General L. Postnikov, told me. "We are refining the list of disciplines and giving a new orientation to a number of training courses. For instance, we have introduced a course entitled "Fundamentals of Ecological Law." Or these: "Fundamentals of the Theory and History of Domestic and World Culture," "Fundamentals of Professional Ethics," "The History of Natural Science".... All this will make it possible to improve the quality of the training of chekists.

And in conclusion Lt. Gen. L. Postnikov invited those who had completed basic service in the Armed Forces, who have the necessary abilities and desire, to enter the KGB school and acquire a profession that is interesting and essential to the country. To do this one must submit a report to a special division of the military unit or apply in writing to the state security organs in one's place of residence. And he reminded us that the school trains people to work in the following areas: military counterintelligence, operations work in territorial organs, investigations, engineering mathematics, and radio communications specialists.

... Alas we had a very short amount of time yesterday to spend in this previously "closed" educational institution. This point speaks of that "closed" quality that is receding into the past: A KRASNAYA ZVEZDA photo correspondent was the first journalist to be permitted to photograph personnel whom you see in the newspaper. On that day the High Order of the October Revolution Red Banner USSR KGB School imeni F. Dzerzhinskiy celebrated its 60th anniversary. Many guests had gathered for this celebration—veterans of state security organs and parents of students and graduates of past years who are now in operations work.

As is the custom there was a solemn formation, the raising of the flag, and a parade. Army General V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the Presidential Council and chairman of the USSR KGB, spoke to those assembled there. The chekists were greeted by L.V. Sharin, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security.

I believe the readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA will join in the warm words and congratulations....

Illegal Guns Exacerbate Spread of Firearms

PM1309100390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent A. Kleva: "Guns Without a Quality Control Stamp. Weapons Are Being Secretly Manufactured at Kharkov Plants"]

[Text] Kharkov—In the spring the leaders of a number of large city enterprises were intending to bring an action against oblast internal affairs administration chief Militia Major General A. Bandurka for... slandering their labor collectives on central television. What he said was that many plants were manufacturing rifled and silenced weapons openly and with impunity.

The conflict did not subside until everyone seeking satisfaction was shown the dangerous 'homemade' weapons confiscated from plant shops or after workers had committed crimes. The militia turned out to have around 800 items.

Sober conclusions might have been drawn from this story. But subsequent events demonstrate the opposite: The militia has encountered hundreds of cases of armed resistance or threats to use weapons. Bandits and racketeers are not only using guns captured as trophies, or stolen standard-issue weapons, but they are making increasing and more and more brazen use of weapons made in workshops.

The KGB and the militia have joined forces and launched an operation to identify and confiscate underground weapons. The other day a major "arsenal" was emptied. The following items were removed from modular machine tool plant tool department chief V. Zhuravel's home and workplace: five hunting rifles, two carbines, a Mauser smallbore rifle, a Walther pistol, a revolver, two telescopic sights, 23 (!) plant-made rifled barrels for submachineguns and receiver inserts for shotguns, silencers, numerous blanks for pistols and submachineguns, 1,500 rounds of various sizes, knives....

Criminal proceedings have been instituted. V. Zhuravel was arrested with the approval of the prosecutor. The investigation is being conducted by the oblast internal affairs administration and KGB administration—they have to establish what war the "collector" was preparing for and with whom. Again one has to say that local officials simply would not take on board the spring warning by General A. Bandurka, now a Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy. The "city fathers" are so utterly unconcerned that in their enthusiasm for building monuments out of combat equipment they do not bother to ensure that the guns and machine guns are removed from tanks and aircraft. As a result, a gun was stolen the other day from a "monumental" MiG-17—it turned up on the balcony of an apartment building. Another was found in a forest park. VECHERNIY KHARKOV had reported the day before that a tank in full combat readiness was standing in a pioneer camp in the suburbs....

As for the confiscation of illegally held weapons, this year only 46 weapons, mainly hunting guns, have been handed in voluntarily here.

Exit Visas Abolished for Certain Categories

PM1309111390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by "Informed Sources" correspondent F. Ivanov: "USSR Foreign Ministry Abolishes Exit Visas"]

[Text] In anticipation of an Entry and Exit Law, many departments are even now trying to make it easier for Soviet citizens to travel abroad. The other day, the USSR Foreign Ministry decided to abolish the authorization stamp in passports commonly known as an "exit visa."

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked I. Khalevinskiy, first deputy chief of the administration, to comment on this new development.

"Throughout the civilized world the exit visa has long been regarded as an obvious anachronism and is not really used at all in any country. Grounds for exit are the possession of a passport and a visa from the relevant foreign embassy. Hitherto we have been making people waste time getting a stamp in their passports that serves no real purpose. Except, that is, to exercise even tighter control over travelers and erect another bureaucratic barrier.

"As of 1 September we have abolished exit visas for people traveling abroad on official and diplomatic passports and also for Soviet citizens who are permanently resident abroad and who have ordinary [obshchegrazhdanskiy] passports. Thus, hundreds of thousands of

people are no longer obliged to submit exit dates and period of stay abroad to us for approval. For other Soviet citizens making private trips abroad or traveling as tourists, exit visas will be abolished when the entry and exit law comes in."

Problems Facing Restructured Papers Examined

PM1209123990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Ye. Kulagin, editor of Aktyubinsk Oblast newspaper PUT K KOMMUNIZMU, by correspondent D. Gutenev in Aktyubinsk; date not given; published under the rubric "We Continue the Discussion of Press Perestroyka": "Commerce and Party-Mindedness"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] As is known, the Law on the Press came into force 1 August. The registration of journals and newspapers is in full swing. But many editorial collectives have not yet determined their future. What will it be like under conditions of a regulated market economy? One thing is clear: All are faced with a serious struggle for readers and for their economic prosperity. This means that the position of publications is changing radically, and they will be forced to earn funds themselves. How can they do this without losing their political face? PRAVDA has already raised these questions repeatedly in the article "Should We Not Learn From Murdoch?" and others. We continue this discussion by means of a conversation between our correspondent and Ye. Kulagin, editor of the Aktyubinsk Oblast newspaper PUT K KOMMUNIZMU.

[Gutenev] Yevgeniy Viktorovich, your newspaper makes a profit. Accordingly, the earnings of journalists sometimes "go off the scale" into a four-digit figure. Do you look to the future with optimism?

[Kulagin] If only I could. Our circulation now stands at 90,000 copies. That could be the limit. Only yesterday I would have said "no." Today I would be cautious.

Why? On the one hand, the market does not yet exist. On the other, we have already abandoned centralized supplies, as it were: We were allocated 60 percent of the paper under a state order, and the quota has been used up. Anxiety gnaws at me as it probably does at many of my colleagues. Will we be able to produce the next issue? But we know what awaits us next year. A paper shortage and increased costs for mail and publishing services.

Under these conditions we, like other publications, have been forced to more than double the cost of a subscription. I will not venture to forecast by how much the circulation will fall, but that is inevitable.

[Gutenev] Before I ask a question about what you intend to do in that situation, tell me what maintains the newspaper's prosperity today.

[Kulagin] Profitability. First from the circulation, second from advertisements and the publication of paid announcements. We retain one-third of the income obtained here to pay wages. But even this is still not enough. Following the experience of others, we have organized the publication of a news and advertising bulletin—AKTYUBINSKAYA NEDELYA. It is not a supplement to the newspaper but an independent publication. We retain the proceeds from sales of it as well as from advertising in it. The amount totaled 250,000 rubles over a six-month period.

We gradually arrived at the idea of setting up a commercial department. The department uses seven percent of its turnover to maintain the workers it needs while the rest goes into the editorial board's kitty and funds. It provides most of our earnings. In addition, we have undertaken the production of one-off publications for public organizations and funds, an interchangeable custom-made page for the city, etc. In short, there are many possibilities.

[Gutenev] What are the newspaper's relations with the obkom [oblast party committee] and the oblast soviet, whose organ PUT K KOMMUNIZMU is?

[Kulagin] In general they are OK, but this is at present. Certain people work there now, but others will come. However, there are misunderstandings even now.

For example, the newspaper recently carried a letter from a Communist woman who left the party during the work of the 28th CPSU Congress. When we published it, we added from the editorial board that we disagreed with her way of formulating the question and invited readers to discuss the matter because her arguments were unconvincing and were founded on a preparation from past mistakes and distortions. There have been many other cases in the oblast where people have left the party for minor personal reasons. One man, for example, surrendered his card because he had not been brought firewood.

Why should that letter not be a reason to ponder on the congress decisions and their fulfillment? For example: "We know our mistakes; if you are honest Communists, help us to eradicate them and not make them in the future; but you run away," etc. The turns can be very unexpected, as shown incidentally by our mail. Party organs should support their own newspaper. But instead, the editor is reprimanded at the obkom. Quite honestly, we were surprised at that reaction.

[Gutenev] You are also a people's deputy of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. I know that the voters preferred an editor to seven other candidates who included leaders and senior party officials. This means that they consider the newspaper's activity correct. So what, in your view, should the mechanism of the relationship with the soviets be like? And here too a question on the prospects.

[Kulagin] It must be clearly defined whose newspaper we are. According to the law a party committee, a soviet, and even an enterprise, a state farm, or a collective farm can be founders, of course if they invest money in it. So the founders council sets the political line by which the editorial board collective operates. But in order for the collective not to be a simple executor as before, but also to participate in the formulation of policy, it too must be included among the founders, particularly as it brings in the bulk of the income. And then the editorial board will be formed not only from journalists. It will be more objective and inclined to make compromises. Here we have met with mutual understanding from our partners; we have become the third founder together with the obkom and the oblast soviet.

What is needed is a newspaper concern with its own printing base—an alternative to the one that the oblast has today and for which there is no competition. This is the prospect but at present we would be able to lease equipment and set up our own team of printers. It is not difficult to give it an interest in producing a quality product—periodicals, one-time publications, and various brochures and anthologies. In addition, it is also possible to organize here the publication of nearby rayons' newspapers, while remote editorial offices will become our own correspondent centers. They supply materials for interchangeable pages such as we now produce for the city. Having a common treasury, the concern could support these now loss-making newspapers. Each page would have its own region, its own readers.

[Gutenev] But what if the concern does not come about, Yevgeniy Viktorovich?

[Kulagin] The article "Should We Not Learn From Murdoch?" by Ya. Zasurskiy, dean of the Faculty of Journalism at Moscow State University, contains a just comparison of news with the Achilles' heel of our press and speaks of its chance nature. Therefore we are setting up a reporting operations department under the secretariat which will sell us news.

In short, like other newspapers we are faced with a difficult life. But we will restructure ourselves, combining party-minded contents with the commercial activity which is simply essential to us now.

Citizens' Registration Restrictions Eased

PM1209154590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by L. Nikitinskiy: "Register? Certainly!"]

[Text] A USSR Council of Ministers 8 September resolution has repealed many of the restrictions concerning the registration of citizens, in particular those with convictions for specific crimes. The "secret" and "not for the press" stamps have been removed from virtually all normative acts regulating questions of registration: As of today any citizen can familiarize himself with them.

It will perhaps not be wrong to say that this decision was taken by the USSR Council of Ministers after a "warning" letter from the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee which is preparing to examine the law on the constitutional rules of registration today at its latest session.

Labor Union Leader Stresses Need for Contacts

LD1209152690 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Panov]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"Today the People's Labour Union's (PLU) main purpose is to establish contacts with the democratic forces of Russia," Boris Miller, a member of the PLU Council, who is on a private visit in the Soviet Union, told TASS today. "In spite of our differences, we are all eager to see our country free and prosperous," he stressed.

"The People's Labour Union is a Russian emigre organisation, set up in the thirties. It was until recently regarded by the Soviet Government as an appendage of Western secret services," Miller said.

"We were acused of terrorism, but we have always condemned violence as a method of struggle and preferred spiritual and educational activities. In those grim days of lies we wanted to tell the Soviet people the truth and to inform them about our ideas of the 'social aspect of Christianity'."

Miller met members of opposition parties, representatives of independent and state publications, public, and political organisations on Tuesday. This meeting, the first official function with the union's participation in the USSR, was marked by a lively discussion of the country's current problems and the union's possible participation in its political life as a fully-fledged party.

Miller did not rule out such a possibility, but said it was premature. He believes the union could contribute to Russia's present-day political life through the elaboration of programmes for the spiritual, economic, and political revival of the country on the basis of information received from the union's correspondents in the USSR. He believes such programmes could be useful for new political parties in the Soviet Union.

Miller praised the renovation processes under way in the Soviet Union. He noted that they opened up excellent opportunities for cooperation and the first steps have already been taken in this direction: Close contacts have been established with the "radonezh" spiritual and educational organisation and with the Christian-Democratic Party of Russia.

The Soviet authorities have permitted the sale in the USSR of such PLU publications as "POSEV" and "GRANIY," which will acquaint Soviet readers with the most outstanding works of Russian emigre writers.

Government Body To Oversee Rescue Services

PM1309095590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by V. Reshetnikov: "Who Will Look After the Rescue Workers"]

[Text] Squads of professional rescue workers have been subordinated to the command of the USSR Council of Ministers state commission on emergency situations.

"Subordinated" is possibly too strong a word. Yevgeniy Kozlov, chief of the commission's department of safety and accident-rescue work, called relations with the rescue workers "friendly." That, he says, is more accurate. There is no need for orders. On receiving information about a disaster or catastrophe, the squads fly out to the scene immediately. On the last occasion rescuers were sent to Tyumen to extinguish fires. The Council of Ministers commission sees to it that the squads are properly equipped, removes obstacles if the squads need to cross a state border, and also takes responsibility for transport and other essential expenditure.

Dozens of accident-rescue squads have been established in the country today in the metallurgy, coal industry, internal affairs, atomic energy, chemical and oil industry ministries, and in the airborne forestry patrol service. In total they number 5,000 people and are located virtually throughout the whole territory of the Soviet Union. "It is in our interests for these squads to be in constant 'combat' readiness so that if the need arises they can go out to the scene of an occurrence immediately and work autonomously, without additional help," Ye. Kozlov said. "We are now preparing a draft resolution on improving the accident-rescue service. The resolution's purpose is to solve problems of providing modern equipment for the squads and also social protection for the rescue workers themselves."

Leaders Sign Actor Boris Tenin's Obituary

PM1209143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[B.M. Tenin obituary]

[Excerpts] Our multinational culture has suffered a grave loss. USSR People's Artist Boris Mikhaylovich Tenin, the well-known Soviet actor, has died at the age of 85.

Tenin was born in 1905 in Kuznetsk City, Penza Oblast. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, Ch.T. Aytmatov, A.A. Goncharov, N.N. Gubenko, A.Ya. Degtyarev, A.S. Dzasokhov, T.V. Doronina, B.N. Yeltsin, O.N. Yefremov, A.I. Kamshalov, A.S. Kapto, Yu.V. Katin-Yartsev, K.Yu. Lavrov, A.I. Lukyanov, G.P. Menglet, V.N. Pluchek, I.K. Polozkov, N.I. Ryzhkov, A.D. Salynskiy, I.S. Silayev, Yu.M. Solomin, M.A. Ulyanov

Economic

Issues Linked to Transition to Market Examined

Commission Proposes Alternatives

904A0584A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 35, Aug 90 pp 6-7

[Article by M. Panova: "The Commission Recommends"]

[Text] *The report prepared by the commission for evaluating alternate variants of the transition to a market economy provides a good basis for completing the work on the government program. This was the conclusion reached by the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers when it had discussed the report on the analysis and evaluation of alternate variants and recommendations of the commission submitted by its chairman, Academician A. Aganbegyan. What does the commission recommend?*

In the opinion of the commission, it is necessary to act quickly and resolutely on the path to the market and to immediately take a number of extreme measures for at least partial stabilization of the economy. It is suggested that we ensure the safety and reliability of the operation of transportation, communications, energy facilities, the production of commonly used products, and several other spheres; that we stabilize the most important production and cooperative ties; and that we prevent the closure of enterprises whose shutdown could cause negative consequences through a chain reaction. As for the strategic questions of the transition to the market, an entire system of measures has been proposed here, with normalization of the consumer market in first place.

How to Absorb "Extra" Money

Taking the alternate variants into account, the commission recommends implementing the people's transition to the market in the following sequence:

a) through financial and credit measures, expansion of the payment sphere, and increased resources of consumer goods; by stabilizing of retail prices; restoring the consumer market; and "absorbing" on a voluntary basis and in the interests of the workers their "extra" and surplus monetary funds. At the same time, measures should be taken to reduce inflation and increase the incomes of the poorly paid groups of the population;

b) when balance is achieved between the monetary incomes and expenditures of the population, a price setting reform should be conducted with a simultaneous changeover from a centralized price system to mainly market prices along with measures to increase the incomes of the population. The reform is possible, for example, beginning 1 August 1991; but it must be preceded by the introduction of an anti-inflation mechanism and competition, the accumulation of commodity

reserves, and the introduction of new measures for "absorbing" and utilizing the monetary funds of the population.

The concrete recommendations can be reduced to the following:

1. In the near future, increase interest rates in the Sberbank [Savings Bank] on the savings of the population to say six percent for current deposits, to eight percent for six-month deposits, to nine percent for one-year deposits, and to ten percent for three-year deposits.

2. The channels to unbalancing monetary circulation should be closed off as quickly as possible: radically reduce the budget deficit; change over to real calculation of expenditures and profit; reject the orientation toward fulfillment of the plan—which increases padding—by introducing strict fiscal control and responsibility; reduce subsidies to a minimum; and tighten credit by raising interest rates.

3. Measures must be taken immediately to expand the sphere of payment for the population.

The Housing Market. It is suggested that we redistribute some of the capacities released from production construction under centralized jurisdiction, having created the economic conditions for rapid additional construction in 1991 of approximately 1 million rooms, in 1992 and 1993 of 1.5 million rooms each year, and in 1994 and 1995 of 2 million rooms, with the money of the population purchasing this housing which will reduce the existing waiting lists. At the same time it would be expedient to sharply expand the sale of construction materials to the population and improve conditions for mass individual housing construction.

The market for suburban plots of land. Each year up to 3-4 million of these plots may be sold to the population at reasonable prices—for example, from 200 to 400 rubles [R] for one-one hundredth of a hectare. The sizes of the plots that are offered may vary, say, from 4 to 20 hundredths.

The garage market. The owners of the 16 million passenger cars in our country need approximately 10 million garages. By 1995 this demand will grow to 20 million. With mass housing construction it would also be possible to build garages and sell them to the residents of the building or to others who wish them at approximately R2,000-3,000 per garage. With the released capacities it would be possible to build an additional 2 million garages a year.

The Securities Market. The commission is in favor of accelerated enactment of legislation on securities and joint stock companies, and rapid creation of the infrastructure necessary to make securities a means for the population to accumulate additional monetary sums.

Insurance for the Population. It would be expedient to introduce mandatory insurance of private means of transportation as is done in all other countries, but the main thing is to introduce health insurance and social security under conditions that are beneficial for the workers.

4. Another group of measures, in addition to the measures to strengthen incentives to save money and expand the sphere of payment, involves interest-free loans to the population to acquire material goods that will be in especially short supply in the future.

5. Important areas for utilizing the population's monetary funds are selling and leasing individual means of production to labor collectives, cooperatives, and private individuals—including land, structures, machines and equipment, incomplete objects under construction, supplies of raw and processed materials, batching items and prepared items, and also the sale of stocks to replace the thirteenth wage or bonuses, above all for members of the collective.

The Fate of Prices and Incomes

In order to accelerate the process of normalization of the consumer market and create reserves for the future, it is recommended that we develop and, beginning in 1991, apply a strong system of incentives for enterprises of all branches to expand the production of consumer goods that are in demand among the population and develop the sphere of paid services. It would be possible, for example, to leave some of the earnings from the sale of the additionally produced consumer goods with the collective by giving them tax breaks and to give assistance to the enterprises in setting up or expanding the production of consumer goods and services that are in demand.

It is suggested that we radically change the structure of imports, increasing the share of consumer goods. In part it is possible to use loans for this when they are granted for a special purpose under beneficial conditions. Until the population's surplus money is "absorbed," in the opinion of the commission the sale of goods should be held back somewhat since now with the shortages these goods will largely go to speculators.

In order to distribute imported goods more fairly it is recommended that we organize their sale not only through the trade network but also through catalogs, using stores of the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. Each family could be granted a quota of purchases of R800-1,000 a year for foreign and the best Soviet consumer goods through selection from a catalog which contains, for example, up to 5,000 goods of various kinds.

When these measures are implemented, since the population will no longer have a surplus monetary mass and the supply of goods will even somewhat exceed demand, this change will not cause a sharp increase in retail prices. There will be changes in the price level according to the population's demand. For certain goods prices will actually increase, perhaps by a factor of 1.5 to 2, while

others will drop. And even with 40 to 60 percent higher state prices for bread and meat and dairy products, the overall increase in retail prices will not exceed 20 to 25 percent.

State regulation may be retained for a strictly limited group of goods and services that account for no more than 20 to 30 percent of the commodity circulation, and for the rest of the goods we will change over to the prices of the free market.

In order to make the transition to market prices less painful it is recommended that this transition be accompanied by measures to increase the incomes of the population: Put into effect a new pension law and a law on additional vacations, increase stipends for students, improve living conditions for large families, and conduct other measures in keeping with the laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is also suggested that we increase the minimum wage from R70 to R100 and wage rates and salaries for workers with medium pay. As a result, the one-time increase in the monetary incomes of the population could even somewhat exceed the additional expenditures caused by the higher prices. The commission thinks it is necessary also to envision a series of additional measures for "absorbing" money and to create a reserve of goods, including imports.

Combining the price reform and measures for raising the standard of living will make it possible to do without the compensation payments which, as foreign experience shows, lead to higher inflation.

Guarantees Against Any Dictatorship

The formation of a system of enterprises with various forms of ownership is a necessary condition for a changeover to the market. One must pay attention to the fact that when there is no market assessment of property, its sale at arbitrarily established prices—for example, by local organs—can lead to negative economic and especially social consequences. A balanced, gradual, market approach is needed here. It is very important that the money that is earned be openly used for the good of the people.

It is recommended that in the near future we eliminate branch ministries and monopolistic structures which are actually built on coercive administrative principles with the rights of direct distribution of resources; the functions of state administration of the economy should be separated from management functions.

The most significant thing is that it will be necessary to reject directive methods of leadership at all levels and change over to economic regulation. This presupposes a changeover to a functional system of government. It would be expedient to limit the state order to a minimum of items and transform it from a purely administrative system into a system with a market-regulated state order.

In a short period of time it will be necessary to auction off a large number of state enterprises, especially large ones, keeping in mind the changeover to real joint stock ownership with shares that are circulated on the market.

In order to develop the economic independence of the enterprises it is suggested that many administrative barriers and obstacles be removed, strictly limiting the possibilities of local and other authorities to intervene in the activity of enterprises and that market factors and production resources be created, having eliminated the dependency of the enterprises on whether or not the local organs grant them premises, approving the areas of their activity, and so forth. The local organs should simply check for the legality of the tax deductions that are received and register new enterprises.

The modern market and the system of free entrepreneurship are impossible without credit. But since the bank can grant credit only for real values it is very important to develop mortgage law for land, structures, and property which will make it possible to obtain real credit not only from Soviet but also from foreign banks.

Inflation—Under Control

The commission recommends that first, before the price reform to conduct serious work for a radical reduction of the deficit in the state budget, normalization of the credit fund, increased effectiveness of credit, and "absorption" of surplus cash and non cash money, and only after this should we begin the price reform. [as published]

Second, during the course of the price reform itself we should change over mainly to a market system in the sphere of wholesale, agricultural, and retail prices. In the first stage the prices of 20 to 30 percent of the key goods could remain under state control. In order for the changeover to free price setting not to lead to uncontrolled inflation, it is necessary to think beforehand and introduce a system of anti-inflation measures and measures for the development of free entrepreneurship.

Third, market price setting should be organically coordinated with demonopolization of the entire system of economic ties among enterprises, organizations, and institutions. It will be necessary to change over to multichannel trade in which state trade enterprises should have no advantages over firm, cooperative, joint stock, private, or foreign trade enterprises. The number of competing intermediary organizations should increase a great deal. The monopolistic system of the Gosbank [State Bank] should be eliminated and its organizations transformed into commercial ones.

Less Funds, Greater Results

For success of the financial and credit reform, in the commission's opinion, it is necessary to have long-range budget planning and the establishment of limits of the possible deficit by the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is suggested that even in the near future we reduce more

substantially expenditures on defense, arms production, and the entire complex associated with these branches.

Administrative measures for reducing centralized production investments should be reinforced with economic measures: These budget allocations should be made through payments—at beneficial interest—and repayments. Then the budget incomes, along with taxes and other revenues, will gain a new channel—return of budget allocations previously issued for production purposes. Further steps are needed to decentralize expenditures not only for production purposes but also for certain social purposes. State subsidies of all kinds should undoubtedly be reduced and a program should be developed to reduce them to a minimum over several years.

An important role could be played by a principally different approach to the allotment of budget funds for one target task or another. Instead of the full sum of funds, for example for the construction of some object of the infrastructure, it would be expedient to allot only part of them and form the other part from funds from interested organizations.

In order to keep the budget incomes at the proper level and not to allow a deficit, it is also necessary to develop a system of indirect taxes. The system of turnover taxes should be transformed into an value added tax which is taken into account in the price of the product as is done in other countries. This naturally does not replace the higher excise tax for individual products. Monetary and credit regulation of the economy in developed countries is carried out primarily through the countries' central banks. The USSR Gosbank should be transformed into precisely such a bank and it should be relieved of responsibility for the financial and credit support for centralized programs and plans. It should become an independent and strong "bank of banks" and be accountable only to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It is necessary to remove the artificial restrictions on the normal development of the banking system and place the banks on a commercial basis and make them self-financing. In addition to their usual functions the banks could perform licensing-intermediary and funding operations; and provide for commercial credit, circulation of notes and checks, credit card operations, operations with foreign banks, and many other things; and they could also assess the solvency of the enterprise.

Double Traction

The changeover to the market is taking place under conditions of a deformed production structure. Purely market methods of eliminating disproportions could take a considerable amount of time and be extremely painful. It is necessary to operate with double traction—with the help of a strong state structural, investment, and scientific and technical policy, and through levers, methods, and stimuli of market management.

In order to create a developed industry and well-being and to surmount the structural and technological imbalance of the national economy, it is suggested that a considerable share of the defense complex be enlisted for these purposes and that production capital investments be reduced in a number of branches. Maneuvering capital investments will require combined application of administrative and incentive measures. This maneuvering will make it possible not only to sharply increase the removal of obsolete capital but also to eliminate the significantly—up to 20 percent—less effective part of the production apparatus without replacing it. Here it is necessary to abolish previous investment programs, to inventory the enterprises and close down no less then 60 percent of the production facilities that are under construction, and to prohibit the construction of facilities that are not backed by the necessary capacities of construction organizations.

During 1991-1995, it will be possible to be oriented toward a total amount of production capital investments of R640 billion which will amount to 85 to 90 percent of the level of the 12th Five-Year Plan, of which R540-560 billion will be used for social programs.

Conversion will play a key role in the structural-technical transformations. It is recommended that we rely on integration of the military-industrial potential with the civilian branches which will make it possible to take the non-capital-intensive path of reorientation of the economy, to organize the production of new generations of high-quality investment equipment for other branches, and to form a new technological base for a breakthrough in the development of the production of science-intensive products.

Special attention should be devoted to the transformation of the investment complex. It is suggested that investments lacking 20 to 25 percent of the necessary materials and equipment be withdrawn in order to eliminate the deficit of contracting capacities and construction materials, to reduce the construction front by a factor of 2.0 to 2.5, and to accelerate the circulation of investment resources in production construction by a factor of 1.7 to 2.0 with a significant reduction of incomplete construction.

It is possible to set the goal of building 150,000 production facilities simultaneously—we now have 480,000 under construction—for which a complex of measures will be required. It is recommended that we reduce the state order to 20 to 25 percent of all capital investments and that we proceed from the shortest construction periods when allotting resources for it.

It is also of principal importance to create a new mechanism in construction. For this the following is recommended: to eliminate monopolies and withdraw the state from all areas of the construction complex, from planning to experimental operation; to create a contracting market; to decentralize the process of accumulation and

realization of investment resources; to transform contract money into the main instrument for regulating the investment process; and to carry out radical personnel changes, strengthening the professional nucleus of builders.

It is also suggested that we eliminate the general construction ministries and break down the territorial associations and trusts which control up to 60 to 70 percent of the contract market and construction material resources.

Algorithm for Land Reform

In the commission's opinion it is necessary to implement a system of radical measures in order to restructure economic relations in rural areas.

It would be possible to begin with the publication of the ukase of the USSR president on the mechanism for implementing the land reform in keeping with the Law on Land. It would be possible to declare the land of the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] to be the sum of the holdings of USSR citizens who have voluntarily combined them for joint management. This would provide the possibility of the real entry of peasants, if necessary with the land holdings belonging to them.

In the first stage it would be expedient to create beneficial conditions for the formation of new peasant farms and agricultural cooperatives—giving them tax breaks, granting them credit, and so forth.

The new property relations in rural areas could be realized with an agricultural market. And this requires a price reform in agriculture consisting of a simultaneous changeover from centralized state prices to free market and contractual prices and prices that are formed freely during the course of trade transactions.

It will also be necessary to overcome the monopolies in the sphere of procurements and restore the system of trade and procurement cooperatives whose number was reduced by one-third as a result of incorrect administrative measures in the second half of 1989. We need competition and equal economic conditions for the actions of various procurement workers. With the price reform it will be possible to get away from the mandatory buying system.

Exports, Imports, and Hard Currency

Most important conditions for our country's more complete inclusion in the world economy are: a) a clear-cut program that enjoys the support of the republics and main social forces of the country; b) a national program for reducing military expenditures, the Army, and arms, and the conversion of the defense industry; c) a new doctrine of foreign economic ties with a system of measures and guarantees for foreign investments.

With these conditions the commission thinks the following are possible:

—obtaining considerable aid from developed capitalist countries in various forms, including the possibility of covering credit with the ruble and more loans under beneficial conditions and for long terms;

—conducting large-scale leasing of individual deposits of fuel and raw materials, areas of forest and land, and organizing joint enterprises for exploiting these natural resources;

—selling by auction or leasing immobile assets, including incomplete construction projects;

—enabling the state to sell many millions of rubles' worth of securities of various kinds and shares in enterprises and organizations of the USSR purchased by foreign investors;

—beginning mass development of numerous bases for wastes and secondary raw materials with the help of foreign capital;

—annually enlisting billions (in dollars) in foreign investments in the organization of going enterprises;

—attracting large investments of foreign capital in the creation of a modern tourist industry and infrastructural facilities for business.

Special reliance should be placed on the development of a system of guarantees of the security of Western capital from the republics and the country as a whole.

If all these measures are taken, the influx of foreign resources will begin to increase sharply as early as 1991, and in 1992—taking into account revenues from exports—it would be possible for our country to have up to R50 billion in convertible currency just for products to be imported to our country which in domestic prices would produce approximately R200 billion.

In the next few years it will be necessary to significantly change the structure of imports, increasing the proportion of consumer goods and services, and machines, equipment, and instruments for the entire complex of branches that provide for the people's well-being under the condition that they are immediately put to work and produce a weighty social effect; and also machines, equipment, and instruments that provide for technical retooling mainly of civil machine building, the information industry, transportation, and communications. A condition for such a significant reorientation of imports is that measures be taken to replace the imports of many means of production, grain, and meat for which we need a system of measures both to find additional resources and to introduce powerful new incentives for replacement of imports.

Hard Currency Coefficient—In Retirement

During the course of the price reform, with a change in the level of centralized prices for certain key goods comprising 20 to 30 percent of the total commodity turnover, it is necessary to come as close to world prices as possible. Subsequently the retail price system will evolve, coming closer and closer to world prices under

the influence of the exchange rate of convertible currency, customs tariffs, and competition with foreign goods.

While carrying out the price reform it is necessary simultaneously to introduce a new system of customs duties which is oriented toward activating foreign trade ties, and it will also be necessary to change over to a single exchange rate for the ruble in relation to the currencies of other countries, having eliminated the so-called differentiated currency coefficient.

It would be expedient to improve the conditions for joint enterprises and accelerate the solutions to questions of forming special economic zones.

Stages of Convertibility

In the commission's opinion the introduction of foreign currencies into the country's internal monetary circulation is not a step toward the convertibility of the ruble, and to a certain degree undermines its buying power and impedes convertibility. It would be more correct in the future to introduce new checks which would have to be exchanged for foreign currency in order to conduct operations on the domestic market. It is important to provide for a real rate of exchange for these checks in relation to the ruble, having organized their free trade at market prices by issuing, accounting for, and accepting these checks the state will able to control monetary circulation effectively.

For convertibility of the ruble in the full sense of the word it is important to be able to use it to purchase goods within the country. Therefore the changeover to a market economy and the ruble's performance of its functions comprise a necessary condition for convertibility just like the existence of rational domestic prices that are close to international ones and commodity convertibility of the ruble. Normal domestic convertibility with a rational rate of exchange for the ruble could be achieved in 1992-1993 when commercial markets, an investment market, a work force, and securities have been developed in the USSR. Foreign convertibility could be achieved in the middle of the 1990's at best.

MVES + GVK = ?

The key issue of the new foreign economic strategy is decentralization for foreign economic activity. In addition to the elimination of administrative barriers, what comes to the fore is the question of division of functions between the USSR and the Union republics. In the commission's opinion it would be possible to borrow a great deal from the legislation on division of function between the EEC and the states included in it. In this case the center should regulate customs tariffs, Union-wide standards, and rules; provide for licensing and the establishment of quotas on exports and imports; introduce restrictions on exports and imports according to the list of strategic goods; be in charge of the unified monetary system; and conclude international contracts and agreements regarding the aforementioned issues. USSR customs tariffs and other all-Union documents should be developed in conjunction with the Union republics.

With this kind of decentralization of foreign economic activity it is especially important to provide the basic units of our economy—the enterprises—with equal rights and opportunities to participate in foreign economic ties, regardless of their form of ownership or location. Private individuals should also have equal rights in foreign economic activity.

In the commission's opinion it would be possible to simplify the management of the country's foreign economic activity, having created on the basis of the MVES [Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations] and the GVK [State Foreign Economic Commission] a unified Union-wide organ for state control and regulation of foreign economic relations and to relieve this organ of commercial activity. Correspondingly, foreign trade associations could be transformed into nondepartmental commercial trade-intermediary firms operating on a commission basis. In order to preserve the state monopoly on vitally important exports—petroleum, gas, gold, diamonds, and so forth—these exports should be handled under the conditions of the state order.

Unified Market Based on the Union

It is possible to have a real and durable basis for the association of the republics of the USSR only if the subjects of the federation have common economic interests whose reflection should occupy a major place in the Union treaty. This should be reflected in the precise and complete registration in the treaty of the authority the republics delegate to the center in the interest of their economic development. In the opinion of the commission, this authority could be the following: to determine the economic policy in the country. It would be sufficient for the USSR, represented by the high state organs, to determine the foundations of this policy—freedom of entrepreneurship, the limits of state regulation of the economy, the diversity of forms of property, minimum social guarantees, and so forth—so that the socioeconomic development of various parts are not based on principally different economic approaches which are difficult to combine. In order to form a Union-wide market it is necessary to have "unified rules of the game." The possibility of regional monopolies is especially dangerous here.

Control must be exercised in the spheres of the economy which by their nature require unified administration on the scale of the country—transportation, communications, energy engineering, customs, and so forth—or when it is economically impossible or inexpedient for individual republics to exercise control—space, large interregional programs, elimination of emergencies. This control on the part of the USSR presupposes also the corresponding legal regulation through the publication of Union acts—Charter of the USSR Railroads, the USSR Customs Code, the USSR Law on the Use of Nuclear Energy, and so forth.

It is necessary to finally regulate commodity and monetary relations whose realization goes beyond the boundaries of a single republic, regardless of the composition of the subjects participating in them. We are speaking about developed and sufficiently detailed Union-wide legislation—including economic, financial, and labor legislation—that regulates all economic circulation that is not limited to the framework of a single republic.

The question of the division of the competence of Union and republic organs in implementing the economic reform is very important. The main direction is concentration of management functions in the local units of the territorial hierarchy and delegation to above of only those functions which are either impossible or ineffective at a lower level.

Union-wide measures (and funds) for protection of various social groups should provide for a guaranteed minimum standard of living for the population of all republics—minimum wage and other incomes taking into account regional coefficients, temporary unemployment compensation, and so forth. Over and above this the republics could allot funds for social support of their population from private sources. It is necessary to develop special programs for the social protection of the population in the republics (regions) with rapidly growing demographic potentials which support structural changes—regions with a high concentration of mining and retained defense enterprises—and regions of ecological poverty.

All variants of reform without exception declare the decisive role of a full-fledged Union market in the improvement of the economy and in the political and economic consolidation of the republics. It is possible to overcome tendencies of naturalization and direct distribution only through economics and above all through general equalization of consumer demand (of the population and enterprises) and commodity supply, and normalization of monetary circulation.

The implementation of a radical economic reform and the transition to a market economy depend today mainly on close interaction between the center and the republics.

* * *

These are only a few of the commission's recommendations presented in its report. And on practically every one of them there were discussions at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers in which scholars and leaders of socioeconomic organizations, ministries, departments, and enterprises participated. And of course the heated debates, for example, on questions of the need for extraordinary measures, time periods, and methods of conducting the price reform; stabilization of the situation in the consumer market; the fate of the branch ministries with the changeover to the market economy; social protection of the population; the volumes of production capital investments; the possibilities and scale of enlisting foreign aid; and the convertibility of the ruble elucidated new and unexpected facets of many problems of the radical economic reform. And summing up the results of the discussion, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. Ryzhkov noted that the report and discussion make it possible to work more, strengthen, and augment many sections of the government program for changing over to a market economy and to take into account in them the achievements of collective economic thought and the experience in economic transformations that has already been accumulated.

Shatalin Plan Debated

PM1109110190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Demchenko: "Switch to the Market—First Reaction. Economic Managers Ready for Work in New Conditions"]

[Text] Around 700 economic managers, representing various sectors of industry, construction, and transport all over Russia, were invited by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet to discuss the concept for the switch to the market proposed by the group headed by Academician S.S. Shatalin. Each participant in a conference held 7 September was able to familiarize himself with the program and put questions to members of the working group.

The economic managers will be the first to actually start implementing the program—if it is approved by parliament, of course. By virtue of their current status and experience, they probably have a clearer picture of the shortcomings in the proposed concept. What is more, the conference participants had been able to analyze the package they were given, so their remarks were to the point. I think all this makes the conference results socially significant.

Perhaps the main thing that emerged during the discussion was the fact that there was not even a hint of dismay, let alone fear, among the economic managers at the prospect of change. Only one participant said he was unwilling to accept the market for ideological reasons. For the vast majority, it turned out, the matter was settled. Stressing the need to deideologize the economy, Yu. Kravtsov, general director of the Ulan-Ude aviation association, compared market relations in the management sphere to the use of the wheel in technology: No one has any basic objection, he said, to President G. Bush and President M. Gorbachev's going around in cars with the same round wheels, despite their different beliefs. The market is in essence totally neutral ideologically—it is merely a means of management, no more than that, and additional functions should not be ascribed to it.

Of course, as well as theoretical matters, the conference participants discussed a number of important practical questions. Since none of us is likely to meet in the very near future with the devisers of the program, it seems

advisable to me to look at the answers to at least some of the questions that interest everyone.

What will happen to retail prices during the switch to the market?

In the first place, according to the authors of the concept, the state will stop routinely raising consumer goods prices altogether. The overhauled program prepared by the Union government for the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet provides for price increases of 135 billion rubles, with subsequent compensation. The group led by S.S. Shatalin believes that the pricing of goods by the state is justified only when these goods can be bought by anyone who wants them. But if the state cannot provide the requisite quantity of goods at the prices it has set it is obliged to entrust pricing to the vendor and purchaser.

According to the originators of the concept, it is necessary to establish a protective "buffer"—freeze the prices of approximately 150 types of goods and services constituting basic family essentials at least until the end of 1991. The state will guarantee full provision of these goods and services at current prices and, if necessary, establish distribution norms. Controls on the remaining retail prices will be gradually removed taking the specific consumer market situation into account.

The originators of the concept believe that the methods behind the distribution of subsidies to maintain low commodity and food prices need to be fundamentally changed. At the moment these subsidies effectively fall into producers' and processors' laps, since the bulk of the population is forced to buy products either on the market or from cooperatives. Items that end up in state stores are of extremely poor quality as a rule. In other words, subsidies do not go to those for whom they are intended.

Is there any prospect of full store shelves in the foreseeable future?

Yes, the program's authors believe. To that end, aside from the system of destatized trade, public catering, and services, which has been described many times, a complex of other measures is proposed. One of them is the mobilization of commodity reserves, making it possible to regulate the consumer market. One member of the working group, M. Zadornov, cited the clock and watch industry as an example. The local clock and watch market is pretty well saturated and enterprises are already actually competing with one another. Having goods freely on sale makes it possible to keep some in reserve and to free prices. In the same way the production of other goods can gradually be stabilized too, stimulated by economic methods.

According to the program's authors, having a clear-cut, balanced, and, in terms of world experience, traditional program for bringing the country out of the crisis means that we can count on foreign assistance.

What kind of tax system will it be?

According to the working group, existing tax legislation will continue to form the basis of the tax system in 1991. Not because it is very good, but simply because, as G. Yavlinskiy remarked, you cannot dismantle everything at once. As is known, current legislation specifies three basic taxes: on enterprise profits, on citizens' incomes, and a turnover tax. All three need amending. Without going into details, I will say that the originators of the concept intend to make income tax more liberal, by reducing rates and raising the tax threshold.

The economic managers were also interested in the proposed changes in the state order system, material and technical supply, pay, and enterprise management.

The conference participants agreed with the main provisions of the program for transition to the market and suggested that RSFSR and USSR people's deputies back the program when it is discussed in the republican and Union parliaments, taking into account the observations that have been made. Of equal importance, in my view, was the economic managers' appeal to themselves and to their colleagues to maintain established economic links during the transitional period and try to conduct the contract campaign for next year with as few losses as possible, despite the objective difficulties. The conference recommended that the RSFSR Council of Ministers adopt all the measures it can to keep a hold on the situation, even command-administrative measures, until the market measures are operating.

Shatalin Discusses Alternatives

PM1209101090 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 p 1

[Interview with Academician S.S. Shatalin by V. Rastorguyev; place and date not given; under the rubric "Question of the Day": "Academician Shatalin: What Tomorrow Holds in Store for Us"]

[Text] [Rastorguyev] Stanislav Sergeyevich, please tell us where the main differences lie between the program worked out under your leadership and the government program.

[Shatalin] Our strategic goal is the natural development of all forms of ownership and the creation of equal conditions for them. Each form of ownership must find the economic niche where it is most effective. A perfectly calm attitude toward private property is typical of our program. We do not pose the question of whether or not to allow hired labor. Especially in view of the fact that the very concept of exploitation is so subject to speculation, so overideologized, so inadequate to the requirements of today's state of affairs, that it is high time that it was rejected. Comparisons saying that there is exploitation "over there" but not here make people in the United States and Europe laugh. If I hire 10 workers, why am I exploiting them? I do not work now, but I used to work, and earned money. The embodied labor which I performed earlier is now combined with the live labor which I hire. They are both labor. But if I work at a state

enterprise, I automatically become a serf. Contrary to generally accepted theories, the state exploitation of man is preserved irrespective of the form of subordination—whether Union or republican. And the exploitation of man by man today is simply not realistic. It is irrational. No serious land reform of any kind is envisaged in the section on agrarian policy in the state program.

It is fundamental and very important that we understand now what a Union of sovereign states is. The representatives of the republics realized perhaps for the first time in working with us that, in preparing a program, you proceed not form a fine ideological formula, but form the situation prevailing in reality. The logic is precise and clear: the supremacy of the sovereign republics' laws, a system of sharing out areas of competence, and the delegation of specified functions to the center. And the center is, if you like, an executive committee, fulfilling the wishes of all the states united together. Sometimes it is said: "The president of the country.... Why are you making this figure a puppet?" That is idiotic. Look: Defense, state security, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, energy, space, strategic transport, a single foreign policy—you can hardly think that the president does not have enough concerns, power, or resources.

We also differ with the government on the question of prices. The government is attempting to increase prices by administrative means, without carrying out all the stabilizing measures. We believe that this is incorrect. It is necessary to tackle stabilization first, and then, while restraining prices on fundamental goods and food (steel, oil, gas, bread, butter, milk, meat, and so forth) gradually to begin to release prices.

Land reform. I believe that what is important in our concept is that we allow private ownership. And second—that city dwellers who are not involved in agricultural activity are able to own private land.

The economic backbone of our program is the stabilization of the ruble. This involves budget savings, selling off all unnecessary property, issuing shares, raising interest rates, and pinning down "volatile" money. In other words, a mass of measures aimed at stopping the fall of the ruble. We will have an efficient market economy only when money becomes the main commodity. All the republics except Estonia have agreed on the stabilization of the ruble by 1991. If they see that the ruble has begun to harden, I should say, to grow heavier, this will testify that the economy has begun to recover.

[Rastorguyev] What would be your wish for N.I. Ryzhkov, if he reads a report on the government program?

[Shatalin] To be frank, I would say that it is not the program to pull the country out of its crisis. As for Ivan Nikolayevich personally, I refrain from comment. I find this man personally very pleasant.

Aganbegyan on Government Program

LD1109213890 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 11 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Georg Mikhailin]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"The government program for the transition to a market economy does not have a single chance in a thousand to be approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet because it is not consistent with the country's present social, economic and political realities and the confidence of Soviet people in the government has declined dramatically," Soviet scientist Abel Aganbegyan told an international conference here today.

The conference "The Way to Freedom: New Soviet Potential" which opened in Moscow today, was told that the country was on the verge of a social and economic disaster. Industrial production, according to official data, shrank by two percent during the first eight months of 1990, Aganbegyan said. With inflationary process in mind, the drop is more considerable.

By now, 400 major enterprises have stopped. Aganbegyan said the crisis was caused by the socio-economic system's intrinsic defects. This is clearly understood by radically thinking economists, he told TASS.

However, no one is yet aware of the way to change the system. It will take time and effort to find out. Experience and knowledge amassed by the world's leading economists, many of them Nobel Prize laureates can come in very handy in this respect.

On the other hand, the Moscow forum provides an opportunity for Western specialists to familiarise themselves in great detail with the Soviet economic reality.

Cato Institute President Edward Crane stressed that the transition to a market-based economy is impossible without such institutions as private property and individual freedom of citizens.

According to him, President Mikhail Gorbachev and his advisers seek to evade these words, which is nothing short of attempts to evade reality.

Crane expressed hope that the conference will at least remind people that this was no time for ambiguities. Maneuvering, palliative and high rhetoric. The past and present Soviet economic strategy has made Soviet people suffer too much. This is no time to seek to modify this preposterous strategy and make attempts at mating it with another system. The time is ripe for sober radicalism, for an immediate and full rupture with the absurd social strategy of the past, Crane said.

According to Miltin Friedman's theory, Crane said, free choice of the place to live and the way to produce is the key to economic prosperity, and the free choice requires the individual's political freedom. This is why it is necessary to transfer not to a market but to freedom and the market will then take care of itself.

The forum is being attended by about 200 champions of the free market—economists and political scientists from 17 countries from all continents. It is being held under the aegis of the Cato Institute. The USSR Academy of Sciences, the Economic Academy and Moscow University helped with the arrangements.

Situation, Future Assessed

PM1209151590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by observer Pavel Voshchanov under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Democracy That Cannot Feed People Is Doomed"]

[Text] With every passing day our life is increasingly reminiscent either of the wartime troubles or of the postwar devastation. Unfortunately there are more than enough signs of this. First soap disappeared, then tobacco, and now there have been stoppages in the supply of bread. Yet only recently it seemed things would not get worse. They could not get worse.

We expected changes. It took little to please us. We would relieve an old leader of his job and appoint a new one—justice had prevailed! Big deal, when the new man came from the old mold. A political leader would utter a few words without looking at notes—he was a new broom sweeping clean! And it did not matter at all that in the "emancipated" flow of words specific ideas were not that thick on the ground. And when the participants in large meetings were no longer thrown into jail, we rejoiced utterly—it was a triumph for democracy! Intoxicated with a sense of a job well done, we went home without noticing that real political life was proceeding as before, guided in everything by prescriptions from above. It proceeded slowly, in zigzags which no logic could explain, painfully paving the way somewhere between a still unfamiliar democracy and the accustomed party-bureaucratic dictatorship.

All the time the country was waiting for something. Either a party congress or a party conference or the next elections or the congress of people's deputies.... And on each occasion it was disappointed because not much changed as a result in our daily life. Of course there were plenty of speeches, resolutions and decrees. But as for specific steps—there were not so many. Steps which would make people feel they were starting to live more easily. Just a little, in the most minute way. On the contrary, the difficulties of life snowballed. And with them there was an increase in the leadership's penitential promises: "At the first stage we underestimated the full gravity of the problems bequeathed to us. But now we can see how to resolve them. We only have to be patient."

Our country has learned like no other how to be patient. It has been patient in the grips of patriotism. Patient when oppressed by fear. Patient when demoralized by mass corruption. And now? Why and for what? Not a simple question especially as if you want you can easily give it a provocative coloring, saying: You are pushing people to rebel, you are destabilizing the already complex situation. But I think that all these accusations are too complicated, based on the desire to continue to be guided by the formula of "changing everything while changing nothing." So why is the country tolerating what are almost wartime hardships in peace time? I see only one answer: Again because of fear. Fear that there will be a return to the still not forgotten (and in some places not entirely departed) times when man with his needs and concerns was merely the clay from which was molded everything which came into the heads of big and small leaders. The times of the omnipotence of bureaucracy and lack of rights for the people.

Freedom is a word which tugs at the heart. For its sake people will even mount the scaffold because it is the key to a better life. But what if it does not fit the "lock?" If someone is constantly filing it in the hope of retaining "pantries" only for the elite? Then freedom results in dictatorship. A people tired of waiting can leave one set of barricades and move to others. That is a historically obvious point and there are enough examples of it. Nor could it be otherwise. Well fed and dressed children and the safety of our own family—for many of us these values are as a result of the perestroyka years far more important than meetings, elections, and the free press.

If democracy does not feed people it is doomed. And that is not a mere phrase. It is a reality of present-day political life. Somehow politicians have forgotten it, carried away by endless discussions about ideals and values, perestroyka and glasnost. But the times when they aroused public awareness has passed. People no longer believe in anything or anyone... almost do not believe. They have grown tired of waiting for changes. This is perhaps the shoal on which (not without aid, I think) the ship of perestroyka has run aground. The ship began to leak long ago, the sails are torn, the captain helplessly turns the helm now to the right, now to the left, while the crew.... Incidentally, about the crew. If you take a look at the texts of the speeches delivered by many of our leaders in the past five years it is easy to get lost in speculations: Where is the country going? What was said yesterday contradicts what is being said today. Of course, life is changing rapidly and a different political and economic situation is taking shape. Amendments must be made, but the strategy should remain unaltered. But in our country? It is hard to assert anything inasmuch as the majority cannot sense any strategy. Even economic leaders and dealers (really "hardened" people!) are losing themselves in speculations: What to expect tomorrow? Whom will the president support? What decision will the government take? Where will the CPSU's present leadership call us?

Why is all this happening? Perhaps because the leaders adapt on each occasion to the audience which they are addressing? Are they one kind of people in front of Russian communists, another in front of deputies elected by the people, and another in front of radical economists? But perhaps the reason lies elsewhere? In

the fact that they themselves have no complete idea of the ultimate goal and therefore are gradually growing wiser under the influence of the rapidly changing political situation? However that may be, the price for all this is great—economic and political confusion, the paralysis of power and the law. But the main thing is the loss of confidence in the leadership and the reforms which are being implemented.

So far this is felt most keenly with regard to the Union government. The country seems to have completely ceased to sense its presence: Does it exist, or is it no longer there? Were it not for television and the press we could answer unequivocally: It does not exist. Nonetheless it is no longer guided by anything and has only one concern—not falling at the next session of the country's Supreme Soviet.

Recently the Ryzhkov government has generated several programs of economic reform (although the government itself speaks of developing and deepening a single concept). But not one of these programs has been implemented. Now another one has been rapidly prepared. Why this haste? The reason is the same—the desire to keep "afloat." After all, were it not for this program the one prepared by S. Shatalin's group would go into operation.

Two crews have formed on our ship of state and they are situated on different sides of the ship. The ship is rocking and is not sailing. Someone must disembark and someone must finally hoist the sails. But who? Clearly it it the person whom the passengers trust who must continue the course further.

The political confusion is giving rise to new economic difficulties. I think that in the very near future those forces interested in reversing everything will gamble on these difficulties. Which forces in particular? For a long time we shamefacedly refused to see: We said there were no such forces in our country. Recent political events have shown that there are. Is that not confirmed by many of the sentences uttered from the rostrum of the second stage of the constituent congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party?

But who will the people eventually follow? It is simplest to say that the people will be able to defend the gains of perestroyka! Alas, this is now merely a slogan, which gives little to real politics. A tired people who have lost hope will follow the person who will be able to persuade them: "I shall resolve all problems! I shall ease your suffering!" Yet it is a paradox that the more difficulties there are the easier it will be to persuade people of this. And the difficulties are mounting. Now even bread has started to be in short supply—and that in the year of the "unprecedented harvest!" People's patience is at its limit....

Cultural Figures Comment

LD1209213990 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] A group of Soviet cultural personalities have expressed profound concern over the proposed transition to a market economy.

They took part in a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat in Moscow on Wednesday which discussed a message from culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko to President Mikhail Gorbachev and the party leadership.

The minister pointed out that the ongoing shift to purely commercial principles had been afflicting the artistic content of art. Without assistance from the national budget the largest theaters and symphony orchestra could not perform as they should.

The Secretariat decided to invite the national parliament to pass a special resolution on culture.

To ease the burden on artistic companies a number of buildings will be offered to them which currently belong to the Communist Party.

Machine-Building Concern Divides Into Units

PM1109110290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Report by S. Denisov and V. Breyder from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A decision has been adopted in Orsk to divide the Yuzhuralmash [Southern Urals Machine-Building Production Association] into a number of independent companies.

[R.A. Urusov, director general of the Yuzhuralmash Production Association] Establishment of the UMZ concern, that is of a number of enterprises under common financial management, is under way. We are planning to have 10 large companies and two small enterprises. This will enable us to learn to make money, to get down to real work.

[Reporter] What changes, apart from the name change, are in store as a result of the establishment of the concern?

Financial leadership will be carried out through a single commercial bank. The principle of a common purse which covers all expenses no longer applies. Each company will have its own accounts. Whatever they earn will be at their disposal. Everything hinges on entrepreneurship.

And now about the main point. The plant's main output is machines for continuous casting of billets. Many countries in the world would like to buy the documentation for this machinery. Steady demand exists abroad but not in our country. The economic effect of the

utilization of this machinery is known. Without it, Soviet metallurgy has gotten stuck in the past. However, why in market conditions should a concern have to think about state policy? If it has the opportunity to make a profit on another lucrative type of output? Graveyard fencing is one black-humor option for the Orsk workers. But it does not make sense to force an elephant to give birth to a mouse. The plant's capacities and the creative potential of its design bureaus, built up over many years, would be frozen—at best, that is. Provided that the concern manages to find the necessary capital and return to the production of machines for the continuous casting of billets. The government is in no hurry to invest the necessary sums of money. Furthermore, the state owes the plant $23 million.

[Urusov] If the concern is to function within the state system it must be allocated a specific place. We will demand from the government that it repays its debt. We favor partnership, but it must extend to all spheres. We are prepared to fulfill state orders, we are prepared to identify and tackle investment problems and problems connected with the development of scientific progress, but, I stress, on the basis of partnership and equality.

What is needed is a precise government program which makes provision for such mutual relations. In Orsk they are ready for cooperation of this kind.

Materials Shortage Holds Up Denim Suit Output

PM1109113890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Report by S. Vetoshkin and V. Privezentsev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] I can imagine the gleaming eyes, at this sight, of young guys and girls who would like to show off in a bleached denim suit in front of their peers. Cooperatives are charging exorbitant prices for them. Three hundred rubles [R] for the least attractive ones.

Meanwhile the Vichuga Clothing Factory in Ivanovo Oblast sells such suits at R130.

[O.M. Moshkov, director of the Vichuga Clothing Factory, Ivanovo Oblast] We could flood the market with these goods since this material is being manufactured by the Bolshevik combine in Rodniki, only 20 km from here. Take a look at this material. It is hard-wearing and very comfortable.

[Reporter] So what is the problem? Why are you not flooding the market?

[Moshkov] The problem is that while last year, or rather the year before last, we were supplied with 120,000 meters of this fabric, we have been able to obtain only 20,000 meters. All our efforts to obtain more have been futile. We have asked for 60,000 meters. If we had this material we could produce R2 million worth of additional goods. We could.

[Reporter] But you cannot obtain the material.

[Moshkov] That is correct. As a result we have to suspend the production of these goods this year.

[Reporter] This is the absurd situation in our economy. Well, what normal businessman will let slip an opportunity to seize the initiative in the market of highly popular goods? After all, even at the price of R130 it is possible to make a good profit on these suits. But no, they put the factory on starvation rations and favor greedy cooperatives. Is this perhaps deliberate? Do some people stand to gain from consumers being fleeced?

Cheese Plant Held Up by Packaging Shortage

PM1109133890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Report by V. Obraztsov and V. Shibakov from the "Vremya" newscast

[Excerpt] [Reporter] This product, despite retaining its old name—Yantar processed cheese—on the label, is of the highest world standard. Produced on a production line supplied by the West German Fina [as heard] company from excellent Soviet raw material, it boasts apart from a delicate flavor and an incredibly creamy consistency, a long shelf life—up to six months. The Krasnodar processed cheese plant was supposed to supply millions of items of cheese of this kind to trade outlets since the beginning of the year. Alas, consumers, that is, you and I, have been unable to savor this culinary marvel.

They bought the expensive production line, but they decided to save on the packaging material—polystyrene—which our industry does not produce. Clearly, there is truth in the saying that a miser has to pay twice over.

And the losses?

[N.P. Pushkareva, processed cheese plant chief engineer] The losses to date total 500,000 rubles [R]. That is in addition to the fact that the enterprise paid R2.5 million for the production line of which not a kopek has been recouped to date from output sales. [passage omitted]

Chita Trading Company Goes Independent

PM1209114590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Report by A. Bardo and N. Osipov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] Until recently these people were state employees of the Chita trading equipment plant. Getting their 10 kopeks from each ruble they earned, they did not expect any changes for the better in the near future. Strange as it may seem, help came as a result of a crisis in the raw materials and other material supply situation. This year the Ministry of Trade, and consequently also

the plant under its jurisdiction, received almost nothing of what they had been allocated from central stocks.

The enterprise had two options—either to close down part of its production capacity and accept mass redundancies, or to seek new ways of management. Naturally, they chose the latter. After many months of exhausting struggle, the collective managed to buy the plant from the ministry. Now no one interferes in its affairs. Relations with the state are confined to the payment of taxes. If you add to this the right independently to choose its partners at home and abroad, agree contract prices for output, and decide questions connected with the formulation of the production plan, then you can describe the freedom currently enjoyed by the enterprise as absolute—in our conditions, at least.

[V.M. Garanin, chief engineer] The approaching market will force us, frankly speaking, to work along new lines and to think along new lines. We believe that the market will force us to produce new goods—high-grade goods with new design and technology.

[Reporter] Competitive goods.

[Garanin] Yes, competitive goods. There is no other way. We must obtain income for the enterprise. And once we obtain this income, we will distribute it among the plant's employees, we will develop our production capacities, and we will survive in the market.

[Reporter] The Chita Rostorgtekhnika plant—that is its new name—is one of the founders of the republic Torgtekhnika association, which is a coordinating rather than a management organ. I would like to stress one detail which is important, in my opinion. The new enterprise has pledged to fulfill primarily the orders of its former boss, the Ministry of Trade. Meanwhile the first step in the commercial field has been taken: A contract has been concluded for reciprocal deliveries with a Changchun PRC foreign economic ties company.

Combine Produces Civilian 'Games Computers'

PM1209131990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Civilian Output"]

[Text] The Transbaykal mining and enrichment combine has started to produce multiprogram games computers.

The first consignment of the new output has been presented to the Chita Oblast V.I. Lenin children's clinical hospital. Within the framework of conversion the defense enterprise's collective has also assimilated the production of rubber engineering components.

Soviets To Attend IMF, World Bank Meeting

AU1109165290 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Paris, Sept 11 (AFP) The Soviet Union will take part in the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in Washington in two weeks' time, IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus said here Tuesday [11 September].

He said he and World Bank President Barber Conable had sent the Soviet Government a joint invitation to attend the meetings.

Mr. Camdessus said Soviet authorities had still not approached the IMF with a view to joining the Fund. "But they are genuinely interested in doing so," he told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The IMF chief earlier told a news conference he had "very confident and very interesting contacts" with Soviet officials "at all desirable levels" during a visit he paid to Moscow last July at the invitation of the Soviet Government. "I am convinced that these contacts will be expanded over time," he added.

However, Mr. Camdessus refused to comment on the progress of work on a joint study of the Soviet economy by the IMF, the World Bank, the Paris-based Organization for Economic Coperation and Development (OECD) and the newly-created European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), which will become operational next year.

He said he would say nothing about this study until he had handed it in, "hopefully before the end of the year", to heads of state or government of the seven major Western industrial countries, who requested it at their Houston economic summit last July.

New Construction Material Faces 'Typical Delay'

PM1309102990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Report by V. Durmanov and Yu. Trofimov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] It is no secret that construction materials have long been in very short supply, although what is not these days? That is why the original methods being developed by certain industrial enterprises to solve this problem are all the more interesting. A report from the town of Satka, Chelyabinsk Oblast.

[Reporter] This dacha on the territory of the Magnezit Combine is attracting a lot of interest. It was built using the first batch of a new construction material produced here in a section of the No. 2 Magnesite Powder Shop. The technology is simplicity itself. Wood chips are mixed in a hopper with so-called caustic dust—the finest kind of magnesite powder—bischofite is added, and it produces these fresh blocks, and of any length so they can be sawn to order. It is easy to saw them, but when we

tried to smash them nothing happened. The construction material has many other qualities. It is not flammable—it may just char in a very intense fire. It does not break. The blocks fit together easily—just add mortar and you have a wall. Since the blocks are hollow they keep the heat in well, and the Magnezit workers have built and tested a house on their subsidiary farm. In short, the new material has many qualities. The demand for it is huge. After all, you can use it to build apartments, summer-houses, and garages.

I can imagine what reaction you will get when we air this report. You will be inundated with orders, requests, and proposals from all over the oblast. Are you prepared to meet all the orders?

[Yu.V. Beltyukov, shop chief] Not at the moment since the capacity to produce the blocks is clearly inadequate. These installations played their part in collating data for the planning project. And with our help, the people from the Vostok [as heard] Fire Resistant Materials Plant are working on a highly mechanized production facility for these blocks. We need this shop yesterday, so to speak. We are choosing completed premises for the site so as to assimilate production with the least expenditure, high efficiency, and above all as soon as possible.

[Reporter] I should add that, regrettably, production will not be really increased for at least two years. This is a pretty typical delay for our state-run economy. Nobody is allowed to put pressure on monopoly suppliers. But that is a pity

Aganbegyan Sees Economic Answer to Pollution

PM1209152190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan conducted by N. Ilinskaya; place and date not given: "The Environment and the Market"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] The opening of the joint Soviet-American conference on problems of the environment and the economy coincided with the summit meeting between the leaders of those two countries. This "overlapping," as it were, gave a fresh fillip to discussion of the problems. The participants in the meeting were united in the view that environmental protection is today becoming a problem for all mankind. That is why the scientists were so greatly concerned by the state of affairs in our country, particularly in connection with the switch to market relations. Abel Aganbegyan, chairman of the organizing committee of the Soviet-American conference and rector of the Academy of the National Economy, here considers the need to restructure our environmental management economics under the new management conditions.

[Ilinskaya] Abel Gezevich, the environmental situation is getting worse all the time. Many people are fearful that with the switch to a market economy the environment will simply be plundered.

[Aganbegyan] The problems of the environment are closely linked to questions of the economy, law, and politics. To regard them separately, as environmental movements sometimes do, is pointless.

We are indeed switching to a market economy. This will also radically alter the system of environmental management in the USSR. Economic levers and incentives, resource-saving , and the reduction of the scale of environmental pollution must come to the fore. In short, we must now learn how to manage the environment under new economic, legal, and political conditions.

[Ilinskaya] But if you are going to produce an effective cure you must at least give an accurate diagnosis.

[Aganbegyan] The diagnosis has been given. Its roots stem from the extensive development of our economy, which existed basically by extracting additional raw resources. In so doing the whole of the economy turned its back on people. Production outlay grew twice as quickly as expenditure for social purposes.

Under such conditions it is not surprising that in terms of the scale of interference in the environment and the extraction of its various components we attained top world ranking. It is estimated that 15 billion cubic meters of soil are excavated in the USSR each year, from which five billion tonnes of useful substances are extracted. Each year around two million hectares of forest are felled and 64 million hectares of soil are exposed to erosion.

Our country is the leader in the extraction of many primary natural resources—oil, natural gas, and iron ore. We extract more salt, phosphates, many kinds of nonferrous metals, sand, crushed rock, and lime than anyone else in the world. We are virtually on a par with the United States and China in terms of coal extracted while outstripping them in the actual mass of rock extracted in the coal industry. We are also almost on a par with the United States in lumber procurement.

But while extracting astronomical quantities of minerals, we utilize them two to four times less well than other countries. In particular, in terms of steel smelting the USSR outstrips the United States more than twofold but is only half as good in gross output terms. In other words, we consume four times as much steel as the United States per unit of finished product.

The reverse side of the wasteful use of natural resources is growing environmental pollution. The lack of comprehensive and full extraction of products leads to the need for raw materials to be mined on an unnecessarily vast scale. Huge amounts of waste material are generated here. Wasteful consumption of fuel and raw materials is also related to the generation of waste products and the discharge of harmful substances into the water, the atmosphere, and the soil.

For example, our internal combustion engines use 20-50 percent more liquid fuel than those produced in Western

countries, and that means additional atmospheric pollution. When you also consider that our vehicles are not fitted with catalytic convertors, it becomes clear that this pollution doubles, as it were.

Paradoxical as it may seem, our wastefulness is generated by the wealth of our natural resources and their relative cheapness. This problem of cheapness is compounded by the low domestic prices for raw materials and fuel, which are two to three times below world prices. The great expanses of our country and the dispersion of the centers for extracting and processing fuel and raw resources reduced the attention paid to constructing purification facilities. We basically counted on the self-cleansing potential of nature itself.

[Ilinskaya] Are we capable of reversing these threatening trends, and how?

[Aganbegyan] First and foremost a new structural policy is needed. The crux here lies in radically altering the correlation between extracting and processing sectors in favor of the latter.

The acclerated development of machine building and information technology as catalysts for scientific and technical development forms the basis of the new structural policy of perestroyka. In the last five years capital investment in machine building has doubled, against increases of 24 percent in previous years. In so doing a shift was made toward retooling and product renewal.

The development strategy is to start the mass production of a new generation of equipment. And, to carry out on the basis of that equipment the retooling of all the other sectors of the national economy. The proportion of products designed to utilize waste products and recover harmful discharges among equipment and instruments manufactured is sharply increasing.

Growth in oil extraction is virtually over in the USSR, and it has begun to be reduced. The same situation obtains with the extraction of coal, iron ore, a number of nonferrous metals, raw materials for construction, and timber procurement.

Moreover, we are starting to develop fields with more difficult conditions, including fields which pose a danger to the environment. A typical example is the Caspian oil and gas field. It contains a large quantity of hydrogen sulfide. This requires a doubling and tripling of efforts to organize waste- free production, ensure safety, and avert the risk of environmental pollution.

[Ilinskaya] Could you give an environmental forecast of our future? What is in store?.

[Aganbegyan] A marked improvement in the switch from administrative management to economic management methods will start next year. The reform of prices and pricing marks the main step in that direction. The results of these reforms can substantially influence the solution of environmental management problems. Wholesale prices for raw materials and fuel have been reduced too sharply relative to other prices and are two to two and a half times below corresponding world prices. Low fuel oil prices, for example, do not encourage its economical use. The USSR burns around 170 million tonnes of fuel oil whereas the United States uses around 50 million tonnes. One of the tasks of the reform of wholesale prices is to bridge the gap between our domestic prices and world prices. This presupposes a doubling of prices for raw materials and fuel resources and the incorporation in them of the real magnitude of differential cost. The introduction of payment for land, water, and forest and mineral resources will also serve as an incentive to make fuller use of them.

Payment for environmenatl pollution constitutes another group of economic normatives affecting environmental management. The new tax system could also act as an incentive in this respect. It envisages exempting from taxation that part of enterprises' profit which is channeled into environmental protection.

In implementing the new budgetary policy we recommend that the government make the financing of major environmental protection measures a priority. Foreign purchases of equipment and instruments intended for environmental protection could also be exempted from customs duty. Customs policy will then be aimed at solving acute problems in the people's interests.

The conditions under which enterprises to blame for accidental pollution of the environment would pay full compensation for damage must also be elaborated. Competent public monitoring and complete glasnost in everything affecting environmental management will create definite safeguards for the successful improvement of the environmental situation. I repeat: Our environment is in such a critical state that any drop of evil added to this cup of bitterness is a crime.

New Oil Deposits Found in Siberia

LD1209121190 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Prutkin]

[Text] Tyumen (West Siberia) September 12 TASS—A large oil deposit has been discovered deep below Urengoy, where more than half of all Soviet natural gas is extracted. Three oil fountains have gushed out from three-kilometer wells sunk by Yakov Kalakun's drilling team. The output of every well is about one hundred tonnes a day.

"Our forecasts about the potential reserves of Tyumen area were on target," chief geologist of the Tyumengeologiya concern Anatoliy Brekhuntsov says. "We are sure this is not the last pool to be found. It is conveniently located next to already tapped deposits and transport routes."

"West Siberia is very promising as regards oil and gas. Cooperation will be started there soon with foreign

colleagues. Representatives of the American Conoco firm are expected to come here shortly.

"We will discuss with them the possibility of launching a joint venture, involving oil extraction. We have also received interesting proposals from Canada and Britain. Seven areas have been selected in the north of the region and in the Ob area where joint prospecting and extraction will be started."

Military

Officer Stages Hunger Strike Against Generals

OW1309051290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1055 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Stanislav Chekalin from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The crises that have seized our Armed Forces are shown in the events that are taking place in Kaliningrad now.

[Begin recording] [Chekalin] The career of this officer might be considered brilliant. After finishing school and graduating with distinction from the higher engineers' school where he is lecturing now, he served in the Western Group of troops. Then he graduated from the Kuybyshev Academy with distinction. He is a candidate of technical sciences and is working for his doctorate. He is a people's deputy of the oblast soviet. On 1 September Lieutenant Colonel Rzhevskiy started a month-long political protest hunger strike in his room in the hostel. Today is the tenth day.

[Rzhevskiy] I believe it is absoluely unthinkable for the Armed Forces to still remain a specific organ in the hands of only one party—the Communist Party—in our society's multiparty conditions. Analysing my more specific tasks in the framework of the school, I consider further narrow specialization in the training of officers at any level, including engineering troops, to be extremely essential. Without narrow specialization we will simply be incapable of training engineers of any kind at a high enough level.

[Chekalin] But, nevertheless, he may be right in some things, what do you think?

[Colonel V.M. Pastushenko, chief of the school's Political Department] I consider that he is correct. The command and officers of the school have been concerned with perestroyka in the school for a long time now. However, what we did not expect were his ambitions and the rude tone of his ultimata. As a serviceman and officer, Comrade Rzhevskiy flagrantly violated the norms of an officer's honor and basic military laws and orders, and deserves severe punishment.

[Chekalin] The case for reform in the Army is pressing, and that is what Lieutenant Colonel Rzhevskiy wants to remind USSR people's deputies by his protest action. [video shows the officer sitting at a table in a room, a placard in front of him reads: "My hunger strike is a protest to the reactionary generals (reaktsionnomu generalitetu) who are the brake on military reform."] [end recording]

Parents of Soldiers Open Congress in Moscow

PM1209101590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Major A. Vorobyev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "According to an Anti-Army Scenario?"]

[Text] Moscow—The First All-Union Congress of Parents of Soldiers and Sailors opened in Moscow 8 September. It was organized by the soldiers' mothers committee "Mothers Against Violence" and the "Shield Union."

Participating in the work of the congress were 389 people including mothers of soldiers, sailors, and officers who have died at various times; deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet and of Moscow City Soviet; and representatives of the Ministry of Defense.

The very start of the congress caused surprise by virtue of the title of the report delivered by V. Alekseyev (Ufa): "The Army Is a Machine of the System To Destroy Our Country's Future." In conversation with your correspondent not even V. Urazhtsev, chairman of the congress organizing committee, agreed with such an extremist view of the situation within the services. He declared that he hopes that this will be a constructive event. But Alekseyev's report called all officers and generals "organizers of Army terror." Even mothers who have visited units and seen what life is like in today's Army would hardly agree with that.

A number of congress delegates called for spirituality to be restored in our life and made constructive suggestions. And yet the intensity of emotions repeatedly surpassed common sense, and women snatched from each other the microphones set up in the hall.

The "sensation" of the congress was the appearance in the hall of several deserters in civilian dress who did not want to be named at the congress. They described degrading instances which, they said, had happened to them. No one replied to a question from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent asking whether they had put such complaints to the command or the Ministry of Defense.

Those who spoke from the congress rostrum repeatedly "drew" an image of the enemy. At the same time your correspondent felt on himself the breath of this image when a slobbering physiognomy drew near to my face and snarled: "You are a KGB agent, and I will give it to you now...."

By the end of the first day emotions had become so heated that organizing committee chairman Urazhtsev,

plainly forgetting the aims of the congress, began voicing displeasure at that part of the central press which does not share his views. He called for a boycott of subscriptions to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, PRAVDA, and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA if these publications do not carry detailed reports on the current measure. At the same time the CPSU Central Committee and the KGB were hit, as well as the television for not carrying a live relay.

On the very first day the measure essentially turned into an anti-Army action.

The congress will conclude its work Sunday.

Deputy Defense Minister Discusses Army Problems

AU1209115790 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Sep 90 p 2

["NM" report: "Difficulties in the Draft"]

[Text] Frankfurt—General Varennikov, Soviet deputy defense minister and commander-in-chief of the Soviet Ground Forces, said that the accommodation of officers and their families returning from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Mongolia are a "basic problem" of the Soviet Union. Varennikov denied that officers have to live in tent camps; however, they are temporarily accommodated in training blocks or reconstructed barracks. The general, who answered questions of this newspaper which were conveyed by the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI, reported on "emergency measures for the development of housing construction" which provided the Defense Ministry with an additional 70 million rubles for 1990. With this money, 43 apartment houses and lodging houses will be built and 80 different buildings will be repaired. From 1991 to 1993 more than 200 apartment houses, kindergartens, schools, and lodging houses for single officers should be built in the garrisons where the returned troops are stationed, he said.

Varennikov said that the estimated 100,000 officers who become redundant because of the unilateral troop reductions of 500,000 men announced by the Soviet Union do not need retraining. Most of the men to be dismissed are officers who have completed their service and thus are entitled to pensions, he said. By the way, these soldiers received further training at officers' schools and in special courses; officers who are transferred to the reserve are at the same time "experts with diplomas in civilian professions." In addition, the Supreme Soviet examines how dismissed Army members can be granted "a higher status of state (employment) guarantee as provided by law than other employees," he said.

The general admitted that difficulties in the draft of conscripts arise from the nationality conflicts. He talked of an "especially disquieting situation" in the Baltic Republics as well as in Georgia and Armenia, but also of "burdens" in parts of the Ukraine, in the Moldavian Republic, and in Uzbekistan; in contrast to this, all Azerbaijanian army commands have already fulfilled "100 percent" of their spring draft plan. Varennikov explained the problems that have arisen as a result of the "insufficient political maturity and lack of experience of the statesmen of some republics and social organizations" and of the "illegal decisions" which had put the draftees in a complicated position." In answer to the question about a professional army, the deputy defense minister reacted reservedly: He considers the discussion premature. Anyway, one-third of the Soviet Armed Forces consists of "persons who voluntarily chose the military service as their main profession"; therefore there are enough professional soldiers.

Varennikov admitted that Soviet soldiers have lately deserted from the GDR to the FRG and he explained this by "low morals" and "misconceptions" of the easy life in the West." He did not want to rule out "that individual persons might also take such inconsiderate steps in the future," but he stuck to his opinion that these are "individual cases" and not a "trend."

Ivashov Examines Legal Protection of Servicemen

LD1209113990 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"The rights and honour of all Soviet servicemen must be strictly guaranteed by law," Soviet Defence Ministry Spokesman Major-General Leonid Ivashov told TASS in connection with the publication of a presidential decree on measures to strengthen the social and legal protection of servicemen.

Ivashov believes that many provisions of the existing army regulations, legislative acts and orders are obsolete and have to be amended. Another problem, in his opinion, is that "administrative bodies sometime violate the rights of servicemen."

Decisions passed by republican bodies, he explained, sometimes infringe upon the rights of servicemen and members of their families. Unconstitutional, inhuman and short-sighted decisions by the parliaments and governments of several republics, Ivashov said, "Treat servicemen as second class citizens and thereby create conditions for a social outburst."

"And even some decisions of the country's leadership worsen the legal status of servicemen and their families," Ivashov added. As an example he mentioned the accelerated withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which "doomed many thousands of servicemen and their families to hardships."

Ivashov expressed satisfaction that the presidential decree "has notably accelerated efforts to ensure the legal protection of servicemen." He said that a bill was practically ready and would be submitted to the Soviet Government shortly.

The military-legislative commission has drafted bills on universal military duty and military service, and on the

status of servicemen. Furthermore, several drafts of general army regulations are all but completed. These documents, Ivashov said, "attempt to do away with barrack-type military relationship, to create a mechanism for the legal protection of servicemen, to preclude encroachments upon their rights."

"Without solving these problems and providing dependable social guarantees it is hardly possible to alter the situation in military units and in the Army as a whole, to enhance morale, discipline and legality," he stressed.

Tank Troops Officer Cites Pay, Living Conditions

PM1209154390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Report by I. Novikov and Yu. Kun from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today is Tank Troops' Day. Here is a reportage from the Malinovskiy Armored Troops Academy which marks its 60th anniversary 1 October.

[Reporter] This is how students at our country's only tank academy are taught. From training grounds they switch to work on intricate instruments and computers at the computer center. Electronic equipment makes it possible to direct both defensive and counteroffensive operations where success or failure are decided by minutes and even seconds.

The best officers from the military districts are taught here after passing a competitive examination.

They study the history of military art from past centuries and the theory and practice of modern combat in which strategic planning and the ability to think ahead are the main factor.

It is the future commanders of regiments and divisions who will have to implement the upcoming military reform.

[Lieutenant Colonel A.A. Lunin] I see my task as a tank troops officer in the enhancement of my professional skills so that the level of the Armed Forces' combat readiness can be maintained at the requisite level with a smaller number of personnel and military hardware. The most important thing is a high level of professionalism and competence in all questions.

[Reporter] Tell me, how much do you earn as a military academy student and lieutenant colonel?

[Lunin] My pay is 380 rubles.

[Reporter] How long have you served in the Army?

[Lunin] Twenty years.

[Reporter] How many times have you moved?

[Lunin] Eight times.

[Reporter] How big is your family?

[Lunin] I have a wife and two children. We have a one-room appartment.

[Reporter] For four people?

[Lunin] For four people.

[Reporter] Is it cramped?

[Lunin] We are used to it.

[Reporter] Are you planning to leave the Armed Forces?

[Lunin] I have served more than half my life in the Army. And I believe that most of us will stay with the Army to the end.

Baltic Republics

Baltic 'Special Army Units' for Border Planned

LD1209213690 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] In Vilnius a conference of delegates from the three Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—has ended. It decided to support their statements of sovereignty by military measures. Special army units are to be formed to guard the borders.

Polish Autonomous Region in Lithuania Debated

LD1209224790 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] The State Commission for Investigation of East Lithuanian Problems has received information that a Polish autonomous region or even a republic, belonging to the Soviet Union, may soon be established in southeastern Lithuania.

Vilnius radio was provided this information today by a representative of the State Commission for Investigation of East Lithuanian Problems. He indicated that deputies of Vilnius and Salcininkai Rayons, the majority of whom are taking a stand against Lithuania's independence, will vote for the Polish autonomous region.

The State Commission for Investigation of East Lithuanian Problems has also been informed of the good relations existing between the non-Lithuanian southeastern Lithuania's leaders and the Kremlin, including Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Apparently, Lithuania might become the scene of a repetition of the recent Moldova events, whereby the Gazauz national minority split this Union republic, proclaiming its own republic belonging to the Soviet Union.

Lithuanian leaders have frequently emphasized that Lithuanian territory is integral and indivisible.

The representative of the State Commission also informed Vilnius radio that most probably the Polish region or even a republic will be proclaimed following the start of Lithuania's negotiations with the Soviet Union. Apparently leaders of the new region or republic will attempt to participate in the negotiations themselves, added the East Lithuania Commission representative.

Meanwhile, the Polish government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA has published information related to the 6 September joint Senate, Foreign Affairs Commission, and Foreign Emigration Commission meeting, which dealt almost exclusively with problems of the Polish minority in Lithuania. The meeting was attended by guest Supreme Council of Lithuania deputies, who talked about Lithuanian-Polish relations. From speeches by Ceslavas Okincicas, Medardas Cobotas, and Valentina Suboc, it was possible to obtain the impression that Lithuanian Poles consider the situation in Lithuania unsatisfactory. It was emphasized at the Senate meeting that the Lithuanian Poles' position will be of important significance in the negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

Landsbergis says Kremlin 'Does Not Want Talks'

LD1209164890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, speaking on Lithuanian radio, claims the Kremlin does not want talks. In all probability the USSR will ask us to sign a Union treaty which would mean our joining the Soviet Union; of course we would turn down that request, he warned. In his opinion, for this reason a fresh economic blockade from the USSR should be expected in the near future.

11 Sep Lithuanian Supreme Council Session

Market Relations Viewed

LD1209011190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1520 GMT on 11 September broadcasts a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council proceedings taking place in Vilnius on 11 September.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene begins the session with a 20-minute report on market protection measures. She notes that market relations with other countries cannot be dealt with "until our relations with the Soviet Union are clarified."

She remarks that this subject may be rather boring at times, but it nevertheless needs to be addressed while discussing market matters. She says that "without having separated ourselves from the Soviet union, we unavoidably wind up with the same unpleasant circumstances—the same difficulties that are to be found in its economy."

Prunskiene cites common currency and durable goods exchanges as examples of problem areas, whose resolution will open the doors to a market economy.

She mentions speculation and black marketeering as being among the other economic problems in existence in the Lithuanian economy, and stresses the need to stabilize the situation. She notes the "intensive work efforts" to devise measures for economic stabilization, mentioning government draft law proposals on measures to protect the Lithuanian Republic's market. She explains the work conducted by the working groups, and she notes that the draft law has been truly improved.

Prunskiene points out that the additional provisional mesures for the protection of the Lithuanian Republic's

market that were outlined in the 10 September resolution would be difficult to implement or would prove to be ineffective, without the adoption of a law enforcing notably stricter responsibility. She adds that the significance of earlier laws will be contingent upon the law of responsibility and its adoption in general. The prime minister urges the adoption of this law, as in its absence the effectiveness of the other resolutions will suffer.

Prunskiene notes that there is no need for her to go over every detail of this law, as it was presented before the presidium last Monday. She adds that the government is awaiting proposals.

The prime minister states that in view of the graveness of the situation, the discussions are very serious. She adds that the Bank of Lithuania has set out on a deliberate course of action, and likens the Lithuanian economy to "a sack with a hole" in reference to open borders, with Lithuanian goods pouring out of the republic.

Prunskiene alludes to discussions at the Baltic Council meeting of economic border protection, noting that the leaders of other Baltic states are in complete agreement and are all working on this matter. She says that they have decided to organize a common Baltic border protection system. She explains the differences in the borders of some of the countries in question: Lithuania-Belorussia, Lithuania-Latvia, and the Lithuania-Kaliningrad region, for example.

She observes that Baltic department chiefs will meet next week on this question, while at the end of next week the prime ministers and financial ministers would also meet to discuss Baltic market questions.

Prunskiene then remarks on the difficulties of being able to predict the outcome of these matters, because, she says, it is difficult to even gauge what sort of a reaction the idea of unilaterally-organized economic border protection will evoke.

"I have in mind," she says, "the USSR republics, and I am also thinking of the reaction to our rationed sales of products and our use of personal documents. She also mentions independent decisions to increase beer and tobacco prices. She notes having received "certain remarks from the prime minister of the Russian Federation—his government—as with the price increase our shoppers turn in a direction where prices are cheaper." She alludes to plans by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to increase food prices, with compensation, and she notes that Prime Minister Savisaar had expressed his doubts on this.

Prunskiene then observes that these matters have been thoroughly discussed in Lithuania and with Latvian and Estonian counterparts. She points out that she is thinking of the economic border protection of Lithuania on all sides, with the concurrence of Latvia, that is.

She admits to Lithuania's lack of readiness for a totally free market economy, as many new elements are needed to attain this new economic model which, she says, "We are in search of, but do not as yet have."

Prunskiene concludes by observing that Lithuania's actions conform to the situation at hand and not in keeping with the dictates of the economic model it is striving to establish.

Economic Regulations Debated

LD1209012290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1545 GMT continues its live relay of the 11 September proceedings of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius. Questions are addressed to the prime minister, and discussions ensue.

At 1550 GMT Chairman Abisala asks questioners to ask pertinent questions only. A deputy notes that he accepts the resolution, but thinks it is terrible—however, the situation is even more terrible, therefore prompting him to accept the resolution.

A question is raised of the government's and Supreme Council's monopolization of economic ties with other states and republics. Prunskiene notes that such monopolization cannot happen; it would only be a means of regulating economic relations and protecting the internal state economy. She cites tomorrow's signing of an economic agreement with Tajikistan.

More questions and discussion follow. Deputies Saja and Macys participate in the discussions. Cooperatives' activities are discussed. Prunskiene explains cooperative functions. A proposal is made to present the law.

There ensues a discussion on the sale and purchase of goods, on regulations, speculation, and the transporting of goods for resale outside the republic. Sale in cooperatives of enterprise-manufactured goods is included in the reading of a draft law; the role of the procuracy in controlling transactions is mentioned.

Problems involving measures against speculation are then discussed. Fines and penalties are discussed.

Proposal is made for the Supreme Council to establish by 17 September an order for the sale of goods and their transport from the enterprises, and also to establish regulations on goods exported from the Lithunian Republic. Regulations governing goods supply to the local population should also be established.

Discussions follow. The criminal responsibility issue is raised, and instances of the bases for such responsibility are cited.

Deputy Vagnorius is the last speaker. He proposes a provisional economy law to stabilize the economy as much as possible within the existing law limitations, and stresses the need to deliberate the law this Thursday.

The session ends at 1620 GMT and will resume at 0700 GMT on Thursday 13 September.

Prunskiene on Market Protection Measures

LD1209163390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Measures for protecting the republican market were discussed at the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Paulyus] The deputies who spoke at the session expressed their alarm regarding the difficult economic situation in Lithuania, supported the decision of the Council of Ministers that was adopted yesterday on additional measures for protecting the market, and submitted their own proposals. It has been decided to start custom checks of cargoes on Lithuanian roads crossing territorial borders. [video shows session proceedings]

[K. Prunskiene, chairman of Lithuanian Council of Ministers] This is unavoidable and, at the same time, we understand that we will have to coordinate our actions with other republics. The fact that during the economic blockade, the discipline of fulfilling state orders was upset and enterprises were striving to export without controls in order to obtain the goods they needed is a very important point. At present, we are not yet ready for such free market actions, especially as we are going to consolidate our agreements at the governmental level and guarantee deliveries to other republics; therefore, we cannot accept free activities of the enterprises as legitimate. Also, we are adopting measures for regulating internal trade by introducing visiting cards, something that our neighbors—Estonia and Latvia—are already doing, and we are developing constructive measures for preparing a transition to limit checks (? in addition) to money.

[Paulyus] Do you reckon that these measures will ensure better provision for the ordinary buyer?

[Prunskiene] We believe that the possibilities for providing each buyer should be levelled out, and this is the purpose of these measures. These are forced coercive measures connected with the shortages which are widespread on our market. [video shows the two speaking]

[Paulyus] Discussion of the draft law on measures for stabilizing the market took place at the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. The draft stipulates a sharp increase in responsibility for violation of trade regulations within the republic, and rules for exporting goods beyond its boundaries. [end recording]

Lithuania, Azerbaijan Establish Economic Ties

LD1209141290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Lithuania is the first of the Baltic Republics to build a bridge of cooperation with Azerbaijan. An intergovernmental agreement on economic, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation between these republics was signed in Lithuania today. The document consolidates the aspirations of Azerbaijan and Lithuania to maintain, during the transition to the market economy, the ties which have formed within the framework of the USSR. It also aims to increase the effectiveness of direct contacts.

The sides are to organize joint enterprises in light and electrical industries, and develop glass container manufacturing in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan's oilmen experienced in prospecting and extracting black gold from the ocean floor will help Lithuanian colleages develop the Baltic continental shelf.

Lithuania, Tajikistan Cooperation Pact Reached

LD1209195290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Talks between delegations from the Lithuanian Republic and the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic took place in Vilnius today. They were headed by Prunskiene, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers; and Kashlakov, first deputy chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers. An agreement was signed on trade and economic ties, and scientific and technical and cultural cooperation for 1991-95. An accord was reached to the effect that the yearly volume of mutual deliveries will be no lower than that of this year. Lithuania will supply machine tools, electric welding equipment, and consumer goods, while Tajikistan will supply high-quality cotton and fruit.

Lithuanian Minister Calls for Baltic Solution

LD1209170690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] As is known, representatives of the Baltic Republics have repeatedly disagreed with the documents on settling the German problem that were signed today.

Yesterday, they picketed the embassies of the countries participating in the treaty in Moscow. Algirdas Saudargas, the Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs, held a news conference in Moscow as well:

[Begin Saudargas recording] I can say that in the main, Lithuania has always been worried about finding itself forgotten, like all the rest of the Baltic countries, among the general solutions of the problems yet unsolved, which World War II created.

Our position is simple. I can modestly say that, after solving the German question, it is now time to solve the Baltic question. We should like this to be remembered. [end recording]

Vilnius To Dismantle Revolutionaries' Monuments

LD1209165690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] The Vilnius Self-Administration Council has arrived at a decision which has alarmed the public of the Lithuanian capital. According to the council's decision, monuments to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin; Mickevicius-Kapsukas, chairman of the provisional revolutionary worker's and peasants' government of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]; and Army General Chernyakhovskiy, twice Hero of the USSR; are to be dismantled in the city. They are also talking about dismantling the bas relief dedicated to Snieckus, a Lithuanian underground revolutionary and former first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

When the session of the council began its work, pickets, representatives of working collectives, and the capital's public gathered near its building to express their protest against the decision of the city authorities which was being prepared. At the same time deputies of the city executive committee received written protests from the civil committee of the Lithuanian SSR and the Socialist Federation of Lithuanian Working People.

Views on Lithuania's Military Issues Discussed

90UN2768A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 35, 1 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Colonel V. Uskhopchik, chief of the Vilnius garrison, and A. Butkevicius, general director of the kray defense department, by special correspondent S. Babayev; place and date not given: "Opposition"]

[Text] *Getting these two people together at the same table seemed like an impossibility. But why not do it under the auspices of the newspaper? Particularly since the questions I wanted to ask Colonel Vladimir Nikitovich Uskhopchik, chief of the Vilnius garrison; and Audrius Butkevicius, general director of the kray defense department under the Republic of Lithuania government, were similar in many ways. These are two people in whose hands real power is concentrated in the capital of the republic: On the one hand—a garrison of the Soviet Army; on the other—an embryonic power for the time being, but which may soon be the army of Lithuania. As a result, opposition...*

[Babayev] Audrius, please tell us about the department you head and its tasks. And a little about yourself.

[Butkevicius] The department to defend order in the kray was created under the government of the Republic of Lithuania on 26 April. Right now there are not very many of us in the apparat—only 32 people. But a network of instructors is being created around the rayons. Our main task is to defend the borders of the republic, which includes establishment of a border service and customs control. We will also resolve questions related to civil defense, and we are taking up the duties of the military commissariats, including conscription. This spring more than half of our conscripts refused to serve in the army of a foreign state.

Each Lithuanian youth is obligated to carry out his patriotic duty, but he should serve on this own land and in his own Lithuanian army. We have specialists who are sufficiently experienced in military matters, in particular a number of reserve officers of Lithuanian nationality who served in the Soviet Army. When it is necessary we will have our own uniform, although I must admit that I cannot imagine myself in a uniform.... Right now we are not creating regular units and combined units. That can only be done by a ruling of the parliament. But our department is the kernel of the future Lithuanian army.

I myself am a physician by profession. Incidentally, after the pedagogical institute I was a lieutenant in the reserves, but later I quit that. I was involved in sports—free-style wrestling and fencing. I am married and I have a son. I was elected a deputy of the Supreme Council of Lithuania...

[Babayev] Vladimir Nikitovich, you are the senior military commander in Vilnius. The situation here is complex, and tensions are increasing. How does all that affect combat readiness, moral spirit, or discipline in the units under your command?

[Uskhopchik] Combat training is going according to plan. Of course vigilance has increased—for instance, we have not had a single instance of the loss of a weapon. The officers and soldiers are carrying out their official duties very conscientiously under the special conditions in Lithuania. We have, for instance, 14 Lithuanians among the officers, and they include commanders and political workers. I believe that they are serving normally for the most part.

There are problems on the daily level, especially as a result of the poor attitude of many representatives of the city authorities toward family members of servicemen. I am referring to the housing question and supplies. When we can, we resolve these issues ourselves or at the expense of the commissary, and the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) gave 84 rooms to the families of officers without housing—two floors of the Higher Party School...

[Babayev] In your opinion, what are relations like between the city residents and servicemen?

[Uskhopchik] Relations have improved somewhat. Cries of "Occupiers! Go home!" have become rarer. In any case, the economic blockade has shown that Lithuania cannot endure without the USSR.

[Butkevicius] I believe that there has been some warming. There are fewer outrages on the part of the servicemen. After all, everyone has seen that the Lithuanians have held out and forced Moscow to lift the economic blockade.

[Babayev] Recently in Kaunas they took down the monument to Lenin. Is the same thing possible in Vilnius?

[Butkevicius] I am in favor removing all these monuments in Lithuania.

[Uskhopchik] I ordered a platoon stationed at the monuments to Lenin and Chernyakhovskiy. We guard them from 2200 to 0700. We will not permit any excesses in this respect. Although it would of course be better if Vilnius workers and communists established their own posts.

[Babayev] How is the presidential edict concerning the surrender of weapons being carried out?

[Butkevicius] In the first place, the president of the USSR is the head of a neighboring state. Why should we carry out his edicts? And in the second place, we have no weapons.

[Uskhopchik] We have designated places for surrendering weapons, prepared the appropriate documents, and appointed people. But not a single piece of weaponry has been turned in. I suppose that this edict will not be carried out. This is natural under conditions of impunity.

[Babayev] And now please say a few words about what disturbs and alarms you most.

[Butkevicius] That would be difficult to say. Everything is alarming. A large disaster can suddenly grow out of any trifle. I believe that Lithuania will become a sovereign state. But it would be terrible if all our struggle today were only a fight for power. We have to change the system. The process of privatization and denationalization is already under way. We have many problems and troubles ahead of us. Should we not be alarmed by the presence of the Soviet Army, which is hardly a stabilizing factor here? Should we not be alarmed that a civil war, which is fully possible in the Soviet Union, might spread to us? And what about internal problems and conflicts between groups and leaders? Nonetheless, I believe we will attain our ends.

[Uskhopchik] What is alarming? The things that are going on in our country. Take Lithuania for example. We have lived here, our wives worked here, our children studied here—and suddenly everything has been turned upside down in a short time. Now we are enemies? Or else the fact that in the Baltic region—and not only in the Baltic region—servicemen are vilified. Why? For what? Whom does it profit? It is offensive for all of us in uniform, and it is alarming for the country. Or do you think that defenders are no longer needed? That the homeland is no longer the homeland? As for alarm and disturbances... In the Army we call it something else—being on our guard.

[Babayev] And one last question. Imagine that the situation were to become so strained that a decision had to be made...

[Butkevicius] If they try to crush my people, we will oppose them without sparing ourselves.

[Uskhopchik] If the situation becomes critical and if danger threatens the lives of our countrymen, I will not delay and wait for instructions from above. I will take the responsibility upon myself, but there will be no outrages here.

* * *

And so, opposition.... Facing off one another, relentless, will they not slowly, but faster with each day, play out that terrible game of confrontation? And will that moment not come when it will be too late to reconsider? Where does one find the words to stop, warn, and avert? There is still time! There is still a chance!

Academic Sees 'Explosive' Lithuanian Climate

LD1209173890 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bkhun]

[Text] Vilnius September 12 TASS—"The situation in Lithuania, declared by its parliament as a non-soviet, non-socialist and non-federal republic is becoming explosive," Doctor of Law Professor Ivan Kucherov told TASS.

He believes most responsible politicians and sober-minded people are "alarmed by the possibility of unpredictable consequences." A group of Lithuanian parliament members, many of whom were among the initiators of the national "Sajudis" movement that came to power early last year, have proposed a way to avoid them. In their appeal to the Lithuanian people they called for a "radical change in the republic's policy" and even for "the convocation of a constituent sejm instead of the present Supreme Soviet."

"The demarcation of socio-political forces has ended in Lithuania," Kucherov said, "democracy is now confronted with the new leadership's dictatorship" and "a right-wing political drift has begun."

The scientist believes that the restoration of the 1938 Lithuanian Constitution "actually meant the declaration of an anti-soviet, anti-socialist and anti-democratic course."

Kucherov recalled that the economic reforms now on the drawing boards in the republic envisage the return of property, including land, to its former owners and the payment of compensation and even unreceived profits to them. Kucherov believes this "has already affected negatively the living standards of the republic's population and encouraged black marketeering."

Among the "shock forces of the present Lithuanian leadership" Kucherov mentioned such openly nationalistic organisations as the League for Lithuania's Liberty, the Union of Marksmen, the Young Lithuanian Society

and many others. "They," he said, "organise campaigns against communists, desecrate monuments to V.I. Lenin, stage anti-army actions. They provoke border incidents and hunger strikes. [no closing quotation marks as received]

In addition to this, these organisations press for the formation of national armed forces. Rumoured and even discussed in the press were ideas of "integrating Lithuania into the system of Western military security" and of "opening the republic's territory for the setting up of NATO war bases."

"The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and government have completely forgotten the assurances they lavishly made after the proclamation of the independence act," Kucherov points out. But the people "cannot be deceived and they will realise where the policy of the current leadership leads," he stressed.

Possibility of Banning Communist Activity Viewed

LD1209172890 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloverian]

[Text] Tallinn September 12 TASS—Estonian Communist Party Central Committee member Jaak Allik has criticised the programme of the Estonian National Independence Party which calls for banning the activity of the Communist Party and proclaiming it a criminal organisation.

In an open letter to the chairman of the Independent Lagle Parek, Allik warns of dire consequences for the Estonian people of the proposed persecution of communists.

"Nearly 110,000 of your compatriots were members of the organisation, which you intend to brand as criminal, just a year ago," Allik says. "Taking into account their dependents, that would place the number of people connected with the 'criminal' organisation at nearly 400,000, or at least one-quarter of the total Estonian population."

Allik voices serious concern over the possibility of plunging the Estonian people into yet another repressive period. He says that the Communist Party will then go underground and use its own extensive experience of clandestine work, as well as the experience of the National Independence Party.

He says that no bans or threats can bring political activity to a standstill.

RSFSR

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Panels Study Economy

90UN2773A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by N. Garifullina under the rubric "In the Committees and Commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet": "On Pensions and Privileges"]

[Text] In the committees and commissions of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, people's deputies are discussing the program for stabilizing the economy and moving to a market that was presented the day before by I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, as well as various draft bills which are coming up for passage in the course of the Supreme Soviet's session.

The Commission on Social Policy of the Soviet of the Republic had a busy, full work day. At first the deputies examined the candidacies of aspirants for the post of minister of social security of Russia. I would say that the discussion was partisan and exacting, and that is appropriate and justifiable: The members of the commission would like to see in that post a man who is competent and who feels great concern for the misfortunes and burdens of the people. The candidate proposed by the head of the Russian government was rejected unanimously by the members of the commission. The practical qualities of the aspirant are not in doubt, but his moral qualities... Materials received by the commission were made public with regard to several violations that he tolerated concerning, for instance, the acquisition of two "Volgas" in the course of a year by virtue of his official position. A second candidate was also rejected. Yes, he was a specialist with high qualifications, but at his last place of work he twice received bonuses from the charity fund. There is nothing illegal in that, but is it compatible with his future duties where the moral aspect will arise constantly in the resolution of issues? The deputies were unanimous in this instance as well. I believe that it is a good example for those who believe today that business is the main point and that ethics and morals are of secondary concern.

One detail is curious: The first aspirant is still a people's deputy. Here is food for thought: If a low threshold, let us say, of morality did not permit him to aspire to the post of minister, does he have the moral right to be a people's deputy? You must agree that a people's deputy must be equally above reproach. Inasmuch as the discussion was free and disposed toward candor, I asked the members of the commission this question. They acknowledged that the question is probably legitimate, but an issue of recalling a deputy is decided by the voters. However a commission on deputies' ethics might discuss his case for a start.

The decision was made to propose two other candidates, who were also carefully and thoroughly discussed by the commission, for examination at the session.

The circle of problems entering the jurisdiction of the commission includes, perhaps, those that are the most troublesome and vital: the social sphere and everything that it encompasses. The deputies examined the draft law "On State Pensions in the RSFSR" with great interest and even meticulousness.

The commission noted that the draft law has been prepared with regard to the unsatisfactory condition of servicing of pensions in the country and serious errors permitted by Union organs when drawing up the USSR Law "On Servicing the Pensions of Citizens in the USSR." The Russian law will take a more favorable position than the Union law. As M.L. Zakharov, chairman of the commission, explained, the new USSR pension law maintains the minimum amount for a pension at 70 rubles [R]. Upon what was determination of this figure based? Nine years ago the minimum wage for labor in the country was established at R70, but with the growth of inflation the minimum amount for a pension became lower than the subsistence level long ago. As a result, the commission set a goal of establishing the minimum amount for an old age pension at the subsistence level—approximately R100 per month; and this is the lower estimated limit.

The commission was just as meticulous about examining the pension fund rules, which stipulate an increase in the insurance contributions of enterprises by a factor of almost four, as a result of which pension fund income will significantly exceed expenditures for the payment of pensions.

In recent years one of the most heated themes raised in the press and at meetings and rallies has been the question of privileges, but apparently this is the first time a draft law on the repeal of privileges has been prepared.

One might say that the Commission on Privileges of the USSR Supreme Soviet has buried the issue. M.L. Zakharov said that it is probably because the issue was charged to those who have enjoyed privileges since childhood. I will state my own point of view. We have two groups of privileges. The simplest group is established by normative acts but is not stipulated by law, and for the most part the privileges come about by decision of the government and the acts of departments. Then there are privileges which arise in practice. It is all but impossible to gain an understanding of these. As a result I proposed that the Commission on Privileges of our own Supreme Soviet decide the question this way: As we expose some group of unfounded privileges, let us examine it and rule on it right away. We took our first look at personal pensions. The complete repeal of personal pensions is stipulated in our law. But, on the other hand, an increase in pensions for certain officially recognized services is being proposed.

I must say that discussion of the draft law was very active and, despite all appeals and intentions to remove considerations of politics and ideology, quite politicized inasmuch as the accent was on the repeal of the personal pensions of members of the CPSU. But supporting—in principle!—the intention to repeal all privileges which apply to personal pensions and those pensions that are designated from the state budget for activities in public organizations, I cannot, however, agree with wording to the effect of "privileges subject to membership in the CPSU." I believe that thousands of rank-and-file and upper-echelon Communists receive personal pensions not for membership in the CPSU but for their genuine contribution to the national economy, culture, etc. I doubt that any such categorical formulation of an attitude toward members of the CPSU exists in legal documents.

Republic Supreme Soviet Confirms Ministers

PM1109085590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Davydov and V. Kurasov: "New Ministers Confirmed. Government Formation Continues at RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy Yu.V. Skokov was approved by majority vote as first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. He is comparatively young (52), having graduated with a radio engineering degree from the Leningrad Electrical Engineering Institute in 1961, and he used to be engaged in scientific activity. From 1977 he was deputy general director and then general director of a major science-and-production association in the capital. Since 1988 he has been chairman of the board of Moscow's "Kvantemp" Production Association.

Without a discussion the republic's parliament unanimously confirmed well-known actor Yu.M. Solomin as RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister of culture.

V.B. Yefimov, an experienced economic official who worked as republic deputy minister of motor vehicle transport before his new appointment, was confirmed as RSFSR minister of transport.

A.F. Khlystov, an economist specializing in international economics who headed the International Trade Center for seven years, was appointed to the post of RSFSR minister of trade. Prior to his new appointment he was general director of the "Mosinter" All-Union Association under the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee].

L.S. Cheshinskiy, who had been republic deputy minister of procurements since 1983, was confirmed as RSFSR minister of grain products.

V.A. Shubin, general director of the RSFSR Ministry of the Timber Industry's Chelyabinsk Timber Production and Procurement Production Association, has become minister of the meat industry.

V.P. Barannikov was confirmed as republic minister of internal affairs. Prior to this appointment he was RSFSR first deputy minister of internal affairs for general matters.

11 Sep RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session Reported

Food, Economic Plan Discussed

LD1109234990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1847 GMT on 11 September broadcasts a 59-minute recorded report on the 11 September session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow. An announcer says that the day's sitting was a plenary one, chaired by Boris Nilolayevich Yeltsin. A priest announces the 9 September murder of Aleksandr Men, a priest and theologian of the Orthodox Church. He urges the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] to look into the crime.

At 1850 GMT Yeltsin expresses the Supreme Soviet's condolences. The deputies rise to honor him.

At 1852 GMT Yeltsin answers deputies' questions. The deputies express interest in the work of the parliamentary group involved in talks with the Union republics. The question of reporting on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is also raised, as well as that of television relays or edited highlights of the debates. Yeltsin says that other republics are very eager to sign agreements with the RSFSR. On the question of the full broadcasting of the proceedings of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Yeltsin suggests that in view of the expense of comprehensive relays and protests from some viewers concerning their tedium, a one-hour roundup of the day's proceedings is sufficient. He asks if a vote is needed. The answer is "no," so the matter is referred to the Committee on Glasnost.

At 1856 GMT Minister Kulik talks about food procurement prices, saying they should be fixed by local authorities. He says central funds should be used to compensate for the disparity between wholesale and retail prices.

At 1858 GMT, addressing the subject of the transition to a market economy, Yeltsin says that the Shatalin group economic program has been handed over to deputies for their scrutiny. He notes that the chambers of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet have already voted separately in favor of the program. Discussion of it will now take place at the plenary session.

At 1901 GMT Deputy Abdulatipov, chairman of the RSFSR Soviet of Nationalities, speaks on behalf of its deputies. He says the deputies support the idea of moving toward a market economy, but they feel that more work must be done to remedy existing difficulties. They think that the USSR Supreme Soviet represents the interests of the unitary state, and this is reflected in the Union government's economic program.

At 1908 GMT Deputy Isakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, says that a majority of the deputies there approved the Shatalin program. Nevertheless, he adds, some felt that more attention needs to be given to education and social welfare measures, as well as to cushion price increases. He says that concern has been expressed over the proposed purchasing of land by individuals. Deputies also have noted that there was a low level of legal protection of hte individual in the USSR.

At 1914 GMT Yvlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, speaks about the agro-industrial complex, saying that more needs to be done about the structure of the various industries. How realistic is the 500 days program? The reform must not be rushed, he says. It must not be thought that there will be a total conversion from the present "economic slavery" to affluence during the 500 days. The document sets out the approach to the problem, not a step-by-step strategy for solving it. Can there be changes to the program? Yes, especially in the early stages of its implementation. "We have inherited a disaster," and we must do something about it, Yavlinskiy concludes.

At 1924 GMT, After a short break, the sitting resumes. Many deputies criticize the program. Deputy Kazarov says that everyone nowadays accepts that the market is essential, but he adds that deputies should be able to compare the two competing economic programs—the one produced by Shatalin and his colleagues, and the one produced by Ryzhkov and his colleagues. He moves on to another question: If the various republics can agree with one another on, for example, the supply of raw materials, who will sign the new Union treaty? For what purpose? He concludes by saying that today will be too early to vote on the economic program.

Yeltsin Outlines 'Struggle'

LD1209000990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1930 GMT on 11 September continues its recorded report on the 11 September session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow. People's Deputy Pavlov from Tyumen Oblast talks about Silayev's signing of the treaty with Lithuania. He says that the people must decide in a referendum on the economic program, as it is not just a technical matter, but a question of the whole socioeconomic structure of society.

At 1934 GMT the announcer says that Deputy Konstantinov insisted on a discussion of the program, taking into account the political conditions for its implementation.

At 1935 GMT Yeltsin speaks, saying: "I just want to say that we are now certainly moving, well, along a road that contradicts—or rather does not contradict, but does not coincide with—the Union program. They are definitely

two programs that do not in any way mesh together and cannot even complement one another. They proceed from completely different political premises and economic premises. We understand that, if the Union as a whole does not adopt that program, then we, Russia, as a sovereign state in accordance with the declaration, will do so by ourselves [applause] with all the consequences arising from that.

"I do not agree that the declaration setting up the state is not being implemented. Yes, for every sub-item, for every item, an enormous struggle is taking place, from the very highest level down to the very lowest. A struggle, a real struggle is going on. That must be understood. No one... [changes thought] The center does not want to let Russia slip out of its clutches—not for anything. It is precisely power over Russia that has always given, you understand, power to the center itself. If it renounces power in Russia, it renounces everything. I realize that. That is why there is so much struggling for the banks, for foreign currency, for gold—for which we today, as it were, went and cut the road so that it does not go abroad—for diamonds, and so on, and so forth.

"A struggle is taking place over every item. If someone says that it is not being implemented, we should not belittle ourselves. We will fight for that declaration, to the end. I ask you not to suspect that, in the Gorbachev-Yeltsin meeting, I, as chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, made any concessions on anything. Not on anything. Which is in full accord with our declaration. [applause] Not on anything. [applause] And even the last sentence was spoken. All that—but not to the detriment of the interests of the sovereignty of Russia. All that we had been discussing. [applause]"

At 1939 GMT the announcer says that after a stormy discussion a decision was adopted on the program for the stabilization of hte economy and transition to market relations, as a starting point. The voting figures were 163 for, 35 against, and 15 abstained. Various amendments and additions are then proposed. Three deputies call for the resignation of the Ryzhkov government. Yeltsin comments that a completely different structure is needed if the economic aims of the reforms are to be realized.

At 1942 GMT, addressing how the decisions reached are to be implemented, Deputy Stepanov says that it is the function of the Supreme Soviet to pass laws favorable to the running of the economy.

At 1944 GMT Deputy Shakhray returns to the theme of a lack of confidence in the Union government. Yeltsin reads out a motion calling for the resignation of the Union government and on setting up the RSFSR's own economic and security organs.

At 1946 GMT the announcer sys that, after a roll-call vote had been conducted, a decision on the program for stabilizing the economy and going over to market relations was adopted. The voting figures were: 213 for, one against, and four abstained.

A decision "on additional measures to complete the 1990 harvest and the stabilisation of the food market in the RSFSR" was also endorsed.

The announcer concludes by saying, "In the evening, the deputies worked in committees and commissions."

Isayev: Reform Hinges on 'Question of Authority'

90UN2785C Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Report on interview with B.M. Isayev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by S. Kredov; place and date not given: "I Predict Unanimity"]

[Text] *The second session of the Russian parliament of the new convocation starts tomorrow in the Kremlin. Its agenda is commented on by B.M. Isayev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.*

"The number of draft laws planned for consideration in the autumn has already exceeded 50," Boris Mikhaylovich began the conversation. "Now we have to select those that have top priority. Those that will strengthen the political, economic, and social independence of the republic. These are the instructions of the First Congress of People's Deputies of Russia..."

[Kredov] Let us help the reader understand the profusion of these legal acts. What are the main directions of the legislators' work?

[Isayev] The question of authority will be most important in the area of political reform. It was discussed at the congress but, as is known, it has not undergone final editing. The completed draft decree will come to the session for review. The Law on Referendum should also be categorized as top priority. It will help resolve very difficult problems—determination of the status of autonomous formations, distribution of electric power and chemical installations, and others—in a democratic way. In the signing of a new federative treaty (its draft is also being prepared), from all appearances, it will also be necessary to resort to a form of referendum. The package of political legal acts also has draft laws on the freedom of conscience (in my opinion, it is in a good state of readiness), on guarantees for the development of nations with small populations, and others. We will have to adopt laws on the regulation of the congress and sessions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Now about the block of economic laws. The session will consider the concept of the republic's transition to market relations. Work is moving along on the government program "500 Days." RSFSR laws on property, enterprises and ownership, and the fight against monopolism... are intended to fulfill its implementation. The plan for the socioeconomic development of Russian in 1991 will be examined, a report on budget expenditures for 1988 will be heard, and the future budget will be approved. Undoubtedly, the session agenda will also

include numerous social questions—on pension guarantees for citizens, on the rehabilitation of persons and peoples, and others. The Supreme Soviet will also have to continue the formation of the government. Apparently, it will begin its work with this.

[Kredov] I have not yet seen in your listing an item concerning an agrarian program....

[Isayev] I would like to dwell especially on this question, which is at the junction of policy and economics. It traditionally plays an enormous role in the destiny of Russia, and the session agenda gives it a fitting place. There will be a discussion of the concept of the revival of the Russian village. A package of documents has been prepared that will have to be converted into laws. For example, the RSFSR Land Code and the Law on the Peasant Economy are in this category. Both drafts have been published in the press, and we are trying to involve as many people as possible in a discussion of them. Specific practical steps have also been taken: A State Committee on Land Reform has been established, and next in line is the institution of a land bank. Incidentally, we are proposing in the land reform to use some of the approaches of P. Stolypin that are also timely today.

It is also proposed to introduce for examination by the session questions on social policy in the village and the revival of the Russian countryside (it is possible that an appropriate law will be adopted) and on a draft law on taxation in the agro-industrial complex. Also, a number of draft decrees will be considered—concerning priority support of agricultural production, foreign economic ties of the peasant economy, the development of sociocultural construction in villages, as well as questions on electrification, thermal power generation, gasification of rural areas, and so forth. The peasants have a right to count on the important support of the state in the area of social problems—a majority of the kolkhozes [collective farm] and sovkhozes [state farm] cannot cope with this function.

[Kredov] Russian parliamentarians intend to follow the road that was recently taken by their Union colleagues. It turns out (many have this doubt today) that the work of the latter has proved to be worthless! In what do you see the difference, for example, between the RSFSR Land Code and the Union Law on Land?

[Isayev] I would not call the work of our colleagues "worthless." Because of them, we did not start out with nothing, and we perceived certain major approaches. However, the documents will have cardinal differences. The Union law does not address the question of private ownership of land. The RSFSR Land Code affirms a genuine multistructured system of agriculture, including private property, and it introduces the concepts of land use and land ownership. Moreover, and this is important in principle, the code will be reinforced by a mechanism for its implementation, and those guilty of sabotage will be held answerable.

[Kredov] Well, and the last question, Boris Mikhaylovich. What do you think, will the draft legal acts that you have enumerated pass in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet easily?

[Isayev] Practice has shown that the parliamentarians of the Russian Federation are rather unanimous on the main questions. Although, undoubtedly, there will be stormy discussions. I do not think that we will manage it any earlier than in two to two and a half months. Afterwards (obviously in November), it is proposed to convene a special Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, which will evaluate the quality of our decisions

Travkin Assesses Power of Local Soviets

90UN2712A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with N. Travkin, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Work of Soviets and the Development of Self-Government, by V. Shchepotkin; place and date not given: "The Soviets Are Trying Power for Size"]

[Text] What is to be done so that they will be up to this power? This is what our interview with N. Travkin, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Work of Soviets and the Development of Self-Government, is about.

[Shchepotkin] The soviets of a new term will soon celebrate half a year of being in power. However, so far we can hardly refer to a triumphant procession of soviet power over the territory of Russia in terms of the influence of the new corps of deputies on the situation in the republic. The situation has been deteriorating rapidly, the economic situation in particular. Prices in the market increasingly irritate buyers; disorganization is rampant everywhere; the people are asking with alarm: Where are you, the authorities?

However, as far as we can judge based on the information coming in, the authorities, I mean the soviets, do not necessarily know what to do themselves. Why? Is there a mistake in the concept, or has a new political organism failed to gather strength thus far?

[Travkin] I believe that it is both. We may say that a significant segment of the soviets has thus far failed to grope its way to where power lies. Conflicts are underway between the soviets and their ispolkoms [executive committees]. Conflicts are underway between the soviets of different levels: between rural and rayon soviets, rayon and oblast soviets, between the Moscow Soviet and the rayon soviets belonging to the city. They cannot but have conflicts because both belong to the same category—local soviets. All our soviets, settlement and kray soviets alike, are local soviets, that is to say, they have the same rights. We have created soviets which are supposedly independent of each other, and we are saying: We have done it the way it has been done

throughout the world, the way it is in America or Sweden, forgetting that our economy is not the same. This is a structural mistake. In our law we should envisage a clear-cut division of responsibilities between the soviets and figure out where the locus of state power is, at what level it begins, and in which cases we are dealing with local self-government.

This is one of the reasons why so far the soviets have not perceived themselves as an authority everywhere. However, there is another reason as well. Deputies who got worked up at rallies came to the soviets promising to change this and to improve that, and immediately at that. Meanwhile, what is our accustomed way of changing and improving things? By using redistribution, taking something away, increasing accountability, dismissing someone from his position. For example, I am a new deputy, and I have been confirmed as chairman of the transportation commission. What do I do next morning? I go to the ispolkom and ask: Who is in charge of transportation here? I find him. I tell him: You are going to report to my commission every Friday; if you are not going to do this, I will have you dismissed.... In some places they took it in stride: After all, I have power!

[Shchepotkin] From a dictate of party rule to a dictate of democracy?

[Travkin] If only it were democracy. Democracy is when everyone goes about his business and nobody interferes with accomplishing it. This is why one of the primary tasks of soviet power at present—I mean the tasks of local soviets—is to put an end to the tug of war and to finding out who is more important when it comes to current issues: the presidium of a soviet or an ispolkom. Not a single executive committee, no executive power with self-respect will allow petty tutelage. They will not allow themselves to be herded. Meanwhile, some deputies and on occasion entire commissions would like to behave in this very manner, like shepherds. If we were to analyze the work plans of some soviets and their respective executive committees we could see many coincidences (our committee has analyzed this in a number of regions). If the decision is to take up the preparation of vegetable storage facilities or pioneer camps, these same items definitely end up in some commission or committee, or in the presidium of the soviet. This duplication is what we need to get rid of now...

[Shchepotkin] How? After all, you will not change the situation through mere appeals or even by analyzing it. For example, I also encountered a number of conflict situations on one of my business trips. In a city, the soviet chairman single-handedly removed a shop at a major plant which was prepared to begin operations from the plan of facilities to be commissioned. Even members of the presidium knew nothing about this. It turned out that the shop was supposed to increase the production of consumer goods in very short supply, and improve the ecological situation in the city quite perceptibly in the process.

In another location, friction developed between the government of an autonomous republic and a large industrial city located on its territory over who should be allowed to retain allowances and how much, and what the limits to the power of the sides were....

[Travkin] These are exactly structural flaws augmented by the mistakes of the initial period. This is not frightening. First, we have come to the conclusion that two laws on local authorities are needed. One should be a law on the soviets as organs of state power. For example, in the case of Moscow it would apply to the city soviet, and everything under it—rayon soviets and so on—will be local self-government. Hence the second law—on local self-government.

However, our success in delineating the functions of the legislative and executive organs is going to be no less important for strengthening the power of the soviets. The search for various forms is now on. We will hardly find something uniform for the entire territory of Russia; besides, it is not necessary to do this. Three variants of developing mutual relations between the legislative and executive authorities are already emerging. The first variant occurs when the soviet takes the place of the respective party organ in the power structure. In this case, the presidium turns out to replace the bureau, and a session to replace a plenum. The ispolkom has a certain degree of independence, somewhat greater than it used to, but nonetheless the city or rayon soviet has an opportunity to interfere in even current business at any time. On occasion the soviet chairman himself interferes, as in the case you recounted. This is not a replay of old-time practices, but the executive authorities are noticeably infringed upon.

The second variant is to combine legislative and executive power in such a manner that the legislative and executive organs are placed under the authority of one and the same chairman. In this case, a deputy, speaker, or elder, call him what you like, is introduced locally, that is, a person responsible for the organization of work of the soviet itself. The chairman heads the executive organ directly between sessions. In this case the soviet retains the right to veto the decisions of the chairman. Subsequently, the chairman is elected by the general populace, and everything sort of becomes regular.

However, along with the first variant, the second may hardly be duplicated at present, though there is experience in some locations: Recently your newspaper reported on V. Makharadze, chairman of the Volgograd Oblast Soviet; as I see it, his work proceeds along the lines of the second variant.

Finally, there is the third variant—when a soviet and its presidium operate on a full-time basis. The soviet chairman brings the ispolkom chairman to the presidium in the capacity of deputy. If the ispolkom chairman is a deputy he becomes a member of the presidium; if he is not, he has a consultative vote. In some places they have

also had the experience of working under this arrangement, but there have been difficulties too. If a person who is inclined to engage in economic activities ends up in the position of chairman, he quickly reduces to naught the entire legislative function of the soviets.

[Shchepotkin] Nikolay Ilich, you have referred to one of the functions of the local soviets as legislative several times. However, what laws may an oblast soviet pass, to say nothing of a settlement soviet?

[Travkin] The legislative function primarily consists of adopting a budget. As far as the present tasks of the soviets are concerned, this has been virgin land so far. The soviets of the current term embarked on work during the implementation of budgets which had been adopted before they took office. It is important not to let the next year slip away now. We may begin by comparing wishes and opportunities. Here is an opportunity: the budget for this year for a specific city amounting to, say, 20 million rubles. How much is necessary? Let all the commissions take a look and calculate what transportation, health care, and schools need. Incidentally, this is what not only the entire army of deputies may be drafted for (in Russia, it amounts to as many as 800,000 people) but also the public. They calculate it: They need 40 million. Where is the money to be found? This is where real work begins for the soviet—how to support cooperatives in its city, because they provide the most stable revenue for the budget, what economic operations of its own are to be started up, what production line at a plant already in place is to be supported so that it will bring greater profits and, consequently, budget revenue. As I understood, the shop whose construction the city soviet chairman you mentioned prevented from being completed was not needed for the plant alone. The city needed it much more, and this is why the deputies should hold this chairman accountable for the damage done to the city coffers at the next session.

I would include preparing a local economic reform among the important tasks of the soviets I have already mentioned. So, we will adopt a law on the withdrawal of the state, and then what? It needs to be implemented. What is going to turn into joint-stock or collective property and how? How is privatization going to proceed specifically? What is to be transferred, and to whom? We should now be preparing for all of these endeavors, which should fundamentally change the economic landscape in the field, whereas many soviets are postponing this until a later date.

[Shchepotkin] We should note that this is not the only thing being postponed. Letters have begun arriving in which voters criticize the deputies of local soviets for failing to duly organize work with citizens' petitions. The people have difficulty finding their way to their deputies, and in response they hear: It is not our business to handle the problems of your roofs. Go to the ispolkom. So, people are being shuffled around just as they used to be.

[Travkin] This is once again the result of the insufficiently clear division of rights and responsibilities which we have at present, when we have presidiums of soviets and ispolkoms. There is room for bureaucratic trickery where clarity is absent. Examples are easy to come by. There is a reception room to which voters take their complaints in Perovskiy Rayon, where I was elected RSFSR deputy. There is a staff employee at this facility. A woman came by when I was there. What do you have? Such and such an issue. Oh, this needs to be taken to the deputy chairman; he is going to have appointments next month, on Thursday. The voter went home with her complaint, and the staff employee recorded that work had been done. Has it really been done? The complainant will come back in a month, and it will turn out that they did not put her on the right list, and there will be another ordeal.

Having seen such "work" with the petitions of voters, I went to the deputy chairman of the Perovskiy Rayon Soviet. Over there, the first secretary of the raykom [rayon committee] is chairman. He sits in his office and holds planning meetings to discuss harvesting just as he used to. He made a former rayon ispolkom secretary his deputy. We started discussing with this deputy why we make people run in circles with their complaints. He responded: What would you suggest—that deputies engage in this? We will discredit the deputies if we do so. The ispolkom should handle this. I was taken aback. So, a deputy is not supposed to work on the complaints of his voters? This is not correct! As I see it, the soviet must entirely take over the work with voters.

[Shchepotkin] How is this going to work?

[Travkin] There are public reception rooms in rayon and city soviets. Not only members of the presidium and soviet leaders but also deputies of various levels, including the republic and the Union level, should be on duty there every day. An individual does not have to climb the power ladder from one deputy to the next. A complaint will itself find the deputy who will see to its resolution.

[Shchepotkin] They call this the need to learn to work in a new manner in a more complex environment, in a difficult situation, in an atmosphere of differences in thinking and political pluralism. In this regard there is the following question: How do you imagine the participation of various parties in the operations of soviets?

[Travkin] At any rate, not through rallies. We should learn to work more productively. After all, we cannot hold subsequent sessions as well as if they were rallies. We should switch from amateurism to a parliamentary system. Let us set forth a genuine multiparty system since we say at all levels that we live under such a system. At present our society at large is divided into three strata. Let us call one of them democrats, another conservatives, and the third undecided. For example, there is a faction of the Democratic Party of Russia plus a faction that has formed a coalition with it. Here is one bloc for

you which determines who the leader of the faction is. Another bloc consists of the communists of Russia and those who support them. The third bloc consists of neutrals. Therefore, we have three blocs and three leaders. All factions gather and discuss an issue among themselves—Constitutional Democrats, Social Democrats, and so on—before they raise it at a session. They determine that they are going to vote in a particular way. They come together and determine as an entire bloc: There are going to be so many votes "in favor," and so many "against." They do not have the votes. The same is the case with the second and third blocs. The chairman of the soviet calls in the leaders of factions: Tomorrow we will discuss the following law. One faction says: No, we will not; we may spend three days together debating it, but the result is already a foregone conclusion. This means that we will return the law for revisions to commissions and committees. Where is the debate going to occur now that we have removed it from the session? It will be within factions, and we are not going to conduct it at the expense of the people. Why have they banded together in factions? Because all of them have their own political views and ambitions. So, let them pursue their ambitions at their own expense: on days off, at night, or in the evening. You must make decisions rather than grace the TV screen during business hours for which the voters are paying you. In this case, we will not nit-pick, which is what makes the people turn away from their TV sets. They say: You get worked up over a comma, and you bicker. Therefore, to sum up our conversation on the current tasks of soviet power, it appears to me that a transition from rally-like sessions to a parliamentary system by means of creating party factions in the soviets is also a task of the day.

Abdulatipov Reviews Top Nationality Issues

90UN2735A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by R. Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet: "Stability of the Russian Home: First-Order Tasks of National Policy"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] What problems does the Soviet of Nationalities consider as being first-order? The top priority, of course, is the task of restoring justice with regard to repressed peoples. Many multinational regions are literally loaded with the mines laid by Stalin's repressive antinational policy.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has established a subcommittee on repressed peoples and will strive to achieve their all-encompassing rehabilitation. But I am convinced that, in addition to general political measures, individual work is required with each repressed family. And it is important that this entire process take place in a calm and democratic vein, that it not involve new, forced expulsions or new terror against anyone.

The restoration of justice with respect to peoples who have suffered is, of course, a sacred matter. We cannot forget, however, that almost all nationalities, including the Russian people, were subject to repressions during those years, if only to a certain extent. I consider the Russian question to be the main ethnic question of the Russian Federation, if only because Russians comprise more than 81 percent of the entire RSFSR population. We are faced with the task of creating an entire system of nationally oriented institutions and establishments which would in fact bring out the national will and national interests of Russians. All of this must be fully taken into account in a future Federative Treaty. For the national statehood of the Russian nation—wherever its representatives may reside—is the Russian Federation. This is why it is vitally necessary here to harmoniously combine the needs of the Russian and other nations inhabiting the territory of the republic.

When we speak about Russians in the RSFSR, however, we cannot forget that in many autonomies the so-called "indigenous" nationalities constitute a minority when compared with the percentage of Russians. Thus, for example, the percentage of Karelians in the Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] amounts to about 10 percent, of Komi in the Komi ASSR—23 percent, of Buryats in the Buryat ASSR—24 percent, and of Jews in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast—about nine percent. And tendencies to establish priority consideration of the interests of "indigenous" nationalities can have a negative effect on the situation primarily of the Russian population in the autonomies. The ethnic self-consciousness of Russians might explode from the increasing flow of Russian refugees from the Union republics. All these factors must be taken into account in the national policies of a sovereign RSFSR state.

Is it possible to eliminate the negative consequences of prior nationality policy?

Without a doubt. To do so, it is necessary to progress toward normalization of RSFSR federative structures. At the center of attention of people's deputies during the course of adoption of the Declaration on RSFSR State Sovereignty were questions concerning strengthening the status of autonomous and administrative formations, and the demarcation of functions between the RSFSR and entities of the Russian Federation. I wish to emphasize that RSFSR state sovereignty should not limit the sovereign rights of the autonomous republics. The striving to achieve development as a sovereign state is the right of every people. But the civilized world has long rejected the concept that however many nations you have—that is how many states there should be. The reality of national structure today in our autonomies and regions is also far from being mononational. Therefore it is not well justified to restrict the sociopolitical and intellectual potential of national self-consciousness exclusively or chiefly to state-territorial claims.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet is charting a whole series of political and organizational measures to guarantee the

sovereign rights of peoples and republics, and the independence of administrative-territorial and regional formations. The entire complex of federative relations will be taken into account in the process of drawing up and signing the Federative Treaty. Here the conceptual basis may become delegation of rights from federation entities to RSFSR central organs. The position of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin is well-known—let the autonomies themselves undertake as many functions as they are realistically able to handle. It is apparent that the very mechanism for signing the Federative Treaty can have multiple variants, depending on the positions of the specific federation entities. Perhaps in the name of surmounting any territorial claims of peoples within the RSFSR it will be necessary to adopt a unified Law on the Federative (National-Territorial) Structure of the RSFSR and on the Federative Treaty. Krays and oblasts of the Russian Federation may emerge, if not on the national-state level, then on the administrative level as federation entities. Without a determination of their role and place in the federation it will be difficult to arrive at a harmonization of the federative structure itself on the whole. Here encroachment upon the interests of a single nation—large or small—is entirely impermissible.

In restructuring the federative system of the RSFSR, it is most likely necessary to accomplish a series of such radical ideas as state sovereignty of the RSFSR and republics, decentralization of power with expanded rights of local soviets of all levels, and expansion of the sovereign rights of all national-state and territorial formations. If we proceed just from the fact that only autonomous republics are entities of the federation, nothing substantive will be achieved in perfecting the federative system. In addition, it is important that national and territorial formations acquire the right of establishing horizontal socioeconomic and spiritual-political ties with all entities within the RSFSR and USSR. We should therefore implement the concept of bringing the autonomous national formations out of the status of kray, giving them direct access to the RSFSR.

In my view the time has come to reject the concept of "autonomy." We could have simply Soviet republics plus national oblasts entering the composition of the RSFSR. The autonomous oblasts and okrugs we now have should be transformed into republics and oblasts. As we know, it has already been written in the "Declaration of the Rights of Workers and Exploited Peoples": "The Soviet Russian Republic is instituted on the basis of a free union of free nations as a federation of Soviet national republics." Division of republics into Union and autonomous was not originally intended, and now actuality itself tells us that we must abandon the antiquated, complex, hierarchical structure with unequal rights of the national-state system.

RSFSR people's deputies have repeatedly raised the question at the congress [First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies] of guarantees of protection of the national originality and sovereign rights of the minor peoples and citizens who live outside their national-state formations or do not have such formations in the RSFSR or USSR. The issue of maintaining the traditional habitat and home management of all peoples looms critically. In this regard, it is intended to secure for them the priority right to natural resources. With respect to distribution of the forces of production, the Soviet of Nationalities is orienting government and local organs toward taking into account socioeconomic and national traditions, peculiarities, demographic and ecological factors, and the general ethnic situation in all oblasts and republics. The preparation of appropriate legislative enactments is underway in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. In general, the legal regulation of national rights and freedoms of Russians will be reflected in the RSFSR Law on Citizenship, in treaties concluded between the Russian Federation and other republics, and in a number of other laws. Adopting laws on the status of refugees and on the status and equal rights of ethnic languages of the RSFSR is seen as necessary.

I cannot help but draw attention to still another alarming element. We have seen a tendency to exaggerate the ethnic factor at practically all levels recently. An explosion of national egoism has unfortunately accompanied the natural process of growth of national self-consciousness. And all the energy of national self-consciousness is directed toward a struggle with other peoples. This path is one of destruction, both for the individual nation and for the multinational Russian society. Diverse nationalities are like the cells of an integral human organism—violating the intact nature and repose of one inevitably leads to harm being inflicted on others. This is particularly alarming to me as chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. At the same time, I see that it is entirely possible to set interethnic relations in the republic right, to solidify them, and here I am not making any new discoveries. The path is well-known—to proceed from principles of mutual respect of interests, and of cooperation with representatives of all nationalities, reviving and utilizing to the fullest extent in this regard the age-old traditions of national originality and tranquil, cooperative life. I am convinced that any ethnic question can and must be resolved within the framework of our constitution through political methods, by direct dialogue and the consent of the parties. Violations of legality, denigration of national dignity, language, or culture, indifference to the fate of other ethnic groups, hypertrophy of national egoism, exclusivity and reservedness—these comprise the path to conflict, grief, and tragedy. The soviets and deputies of all levels must not allow this. Often even people's deputies, instead of identifying true ethnic needs and striving to resolve specific socioeconomic and cultural problems, themselves engage in kindling ethnic passions. But national-careerism and national-populism have nothing in common with protecting the true national interests and aspirations of the people. Therefore, without a definite legal toughening and materialization of responsibility for inflaming interethnic strife it is difficult to stabilize the situation in this sphere.

In fighting for sovereignty, for national rights and freedoms, it is important not to forget that a basic, perhaps the chief, task of ethnic policy is to ensure that people do in fact enjoy equal rights in every sphere regardless of nationality or race. The goal of the highest RSFSR organs of state power, therefore, is to provide for real observance of these equal rights in all spheres of social life, and to create civilized, democratic conditions for a full-blooded, secure, and tranquil life for Russians. It is precisely these ideas which must lie at the foundation of our ethnic policy and Federative Treaty, which will make our Russian home solid, secure, and good for all Russians.

Zagaynov Details Costs of RSFSR Congress

90UN2772A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 36, 8-14 Sep 90 pp 5-6

[Report on interview with Yu. Zagaynov, chief of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Finance and Economic Department, by V. Romanenko; place and date not given: "In the 'Corridors of Power'"]

[Text] [Romanenko] How much did the Congress of People's Deputies and the session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] cost Russia?

[Zagaynov] Approximately 4 million rubles [R].

[Romanenko] What are the numbers of the present and preceding apparatuses of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet?

[Zagaynov] Of the new one, 664 people. Of these, 200 make up the committee and commission apparatus. The apparatus of previous RSFSR supreme soviets was 400-410 people.

[Romanenko] Has there been a change in the structure and functions of the apparatus?

[Zagaynov] Its work has been restructured fundamentally. It was essential for us to take account of a fundamental new proposition—all deputies, not only members of the Supreme Soviet, may now participate in the business of the committees and commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. For this reason the main principle of the structural transformation was that each committee and commission, and there are 32 of them, acquire their own regular employees independent of the central apparatus. The number of functional departments of the Supreme Soviet has been reduced, and three departments have been eliminated altogether.

Along with this, entirely new departments have been made a part of the Supreme Soviet structure. These are the Editorial and Publishing Department, whose purpose is to convey to each deputy prompt information on all matters of interest, and the Interparliamentary Relations Department. To our shame, in the Russian Federation no one had ever been involved in international exchange. These matters were solely the province of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A secretariat has been formed under the auspices of the Supreme Soviet chairman, to which have been transferred all services of administration of the apparatus: the personnel division, the secret documents group and the group responsible for the security of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

[Romanenko] There is a need for the security group?

[Zagaynov] Practice has shown that there is.

[Romanenko] As far as we know, B. Yeltsin was opposed to the creation of such a service?

[Zagaynov] He was persuaded, albeit after much hesitation.

[Romanenko] Do the apparatuses of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet interact?

[Zagaynov] In practice, no. Close contact is maintained only at the finance and economic department level inasmuch as we have nothing of our own as yet. Of course, this is hardly a normal situation, and contacts are necessary if only at the information level.

[Romanenko] Have new people joined the apparatus?

[Zagaynov] Yes, but few as yet. It is difficult to change people "mid-stream."

[Romanenko] What is the average age of officials of the apparatus?

[Zagaynov] A little over 50.

[Romanenko] How much leave do the deputies and apparatus officials have?

[Zagaynov] Deputies have 36 working days, the "apparatchiks," 24 days.

[Romanenko] For what level of executives are personal automobiles reserved and how many cars are there in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet garage?

[Zagaynov] We have neither our own garage nor our own cars. We lease 12 cars from the USSR Supreme Soviet, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and other organizations.

[Romanenko] And what does this leasing cost?

[Zagaynov] Approximately R500,000 a year, not counting congresses, sessions, and other important activities. For example, expenditures on transportation alone during the congress amounted to R500,000. In addition, in order to cater for the normal operation of the congress (56 passenger cars and 20 buses were required) we were forced to strip the motor pools of many of the cities close to Moscow.

[Romanenko] And are there no other ways of solving transport problems?

[Zagaynov] Yes. The first is to create, on the basis of the RSFSR Council of Ministers or USSR Supreme Soviet garage, our own 80- to 100-vehicle motor pool. A difficult and lengthy way. The second, possibly, is to requisition one of the numerous garages of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Romanenko] Nevertheless, for whom are personal vehicles reserved?

[Zagaynov] The chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and his three deputies and the chairmen of the Council of the Republic and the Council of Nationalities—six personal automobiles altogether.

[Romanenko] And how is the deputy "rank and file" provided with transportation? Will they continue, as before, to travel in the official black Volgas?

[Zagaynov] No. In fulfillment of a special decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session we are now deciding the question of the sale to the deputies for cash of vehicles for official use. A simple economic calculation shows that this is far cheaper for the state than maintaining a huge departmental garage with a personal driver staff. One hour of a Volga's operation costs R5; eight hours, R40. There are 307 working days in the year for a total of R12,280. The state has to pay out this amount for just one deputy. But for 1,068 it is R1.3 million a year.

If a deputy buys an automobile with his own money, the compensatory payments for personal transportation used for official purposes amounts to R1,824 per deputy per year (according to standard rates, R152 per month are paid for a Volga, R124 for a Zhiguli). This means eight times less expenditure on official transportation. In addition, the deputy has total independence of the apparatus and flexibility.

[Romanenko] How many restaurants and refreshment areas are there in the RSFSR's Government House?

[Zagaynov] Two 500-seat restaurants and one refreshment area in the Supreme Soviet and four in the Council of Ministers.

[Romanenko] Are the prices in them official prices or are they, as was formerly the case in the CPSU Central Committee refreshment areas, subsidized?

[Zagaynov] Official. Lunch costs R1.2-R1.5.

[Romanenko] Are there "special rations" for apparatus officials?

[Zagaynov] Now, no. Earlier the executive apparatus did, indeed, get "Kremlin rations" at a facility on Granovskaya Street. This special establishment was closed last year. We have an order desk, at which we can obtain small orders of five or six products. Some 300 grams of sausage, 300 grams of cheese and so forth, for example. But only apparatus officials down to specialist first grade level may avail themselves of it.

[Romanenko] Evidently official rank continues to be observed unswervingly even on this matter. And what about the rest?

[Zagaynov] Twice a week any employee may place a small order in the restaurant. This is a piece of meat, five or six chops, eggs, cheese, as a rule.

[Romanenko] Is there home delivery of the orders for the senior executives?

[Zagaynov] No. This practice was terminated with the arrival of the "new" authorities.

[Romanenko] Is the produce brought in from special farms or ordinary ones?

[Zagaynov] We bring in some of the produce from an ordinary subsidiary farm of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, some from the "celebrated" Depot 208—for the "Teremok" Integrated Children's Center and for formal activities. Mainly pastries, candy, beverages, fruit, sausage, cheese and whitefish, sometimes.

[Romanenko] How many apartments in Moscow have been allocated to deputies from out of town and on the basis of what number of meters per person?

[Zagaynov] As yet no deputy has obtained accommodations in Moscow. Neither we nor the Moscow City Soviet were prepared for this. The former RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium believed that the deputies would not need accommodations and that there would be sufficient hotels, since the previous corps of deputies never worked in the Supreme Soviet on a permanent basis.

Some 272 deputies have submitted applications for housing. The Moscow City Soviet is allocating us 270 in a house in Block 4 on Koroleva Street. True, we are having to cut into the Moscow City Soviet's share and are thereby pushing further back those on Moscow's waiting list. People from the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Defense Ministry and inhabitants of Dzerzhinskiy Rayon were expecting this house. But, unfortunately, there is no other way.

I would note that this is official accommodation and that at the end of his term a deputy will have to vacate the apartment.

[Romanenko] That is, a hotel for deputies and their families?

[Zagaynov] Yes, a special entry on the registration certificate will indicate that this is official accommodation. In addition, we will receive a single authorization for the 270 apartments so that the deputies will not in fact have Moscow residence permits. This will be far cheaper for the state than the deputies' permanent residence in a hotel. According to a recent decree of the Moscow City Soviet, we now pay per occupant of a hotel room in Moscow R17.5 a day, and R6,370 a year. A house, however, costs the state budget R1,200 per deputy. In addition, we are releasing approximately hotel 300

rooms and creating normal conditions for family life. The brief experience of the work of the Union parliament shows that the deputies' long estrangement from their families has already engendered a number of serious problems, up to and including divorce.

Inasmuch as the accommodation is official, the calculation is approximately thus: a family of four—a two-room apartment. The requirement is 14 one-room, 124 two-room, 100 three-room, and 32 four-room apartments (for deputies with four to six children).

[Romanenko] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet has never built its own departmental housing?

[Zagaynov] No. Apartments in so-called "prestige" houses were allocated, as a rule, through the Moscow City Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[Romanenko] Who pays for the deputies' travel by railroad and air transportation?

[Zagaynov] On the territory of Russia the deputies travel free of charge on all forms of transportation except taxis. Expenses are paid from the state budget—approximately R15 million a year, not counting urban mass transit.

[Romanenko] Do you have your own recreation centers and sanatoria?

[Zagaynov] Two. The Moscow "Los" Recreation Center (40 beds). Retirees, Great Patriotic War veterans, and elderly officials of the apparatus, for the most part, live there in summer. The second is the "Mamontovka" (50 beds) in the Moscow area.

[Romanenko] How do employees of the apparatus get into the "elite" southern sanatoriums?

[Zagaynov] Through the Russian Council of Ministers Fourth Administration. Following its abolition, passes to the southern sanatoria have been ordered through the medical division of the Council of Ministers or a trade union.

[Romanenko] How many deputies have vacationed in them this summer?

[Zagaynov] More than 100. These sanatoriums are now being switched to financial autonomy and will be ready to receive employees of any enterprise.

[Romanenko] Do the deputies pay for the cost of the pass in full?

[Zagaynov] No. The full cost of a pass in Sanatorium "imeni XXII Syzeda KPSS," for example, is R360-R420, but the vacationer pays R160-R200. The subsidy is covered from the RSFSR Council of Ministers reserve fund.

[Romanenko] Do you consider this normal? Are the deputies, after all, the neediest category of the population?

[Zagaynov] This matter is now under serious discussion, and the subsidy will, I believe, be abolished.

[Romanenko] Medical assistance also comes with the prefix "special"?

[Zagaynov] We have two general clinics, which serve the apparatus of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers. Veterans of the Great Patriotic War, retirees, and some inhabitants of the district are treated there. The deputies will be registered with them also. There were several hundred calls for medical assistance during the congress. Thirty eight days of strenuous work were hard on many deputies. Some were hospitalized. So this is not a privilege, I believe, but an entirely reasonable benefit.

FROM THE EDITORS: ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has repeatedly published material on the benefits and privileges of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the republic and local authorities. This item has presented information on the main "benefits" enjoyed currently by people's deputies of the RSFSR and the apparatus of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Realizing that it will evoke an ambivalent reader response, the editors are prepared to publish various viewpoints on this matter and to convey them to the Supreme Soviet.

At the present time an intensive process of the abolition of the old and creation of new state structures is under way. However, elimination of the flawed system of the distribution of benefits and privileges is manifestly lagging behind this process. The new soviets of all levels have "inherited" the former system of benefits. To what extent it is justified and what kind it should be are for the people's deputies and their electorates to decide. A Commission for Regulating Benefits and Privileges, whose assignment includes the elaboration of a uniform bill on state benefits and the mechanism for its realization, has been created in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Party Control Commission Chairman Interviewed

PM0609152190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with N.S. Stolyarov, newly elected chairman of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission, by L. Pyatiletova in Moscow on 5 September: "Faculty of Party Ethics"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The audience greeted the announcement by the chairman of the tellers' commission regarding the results of the vote with ardent applause. Accompanied by applause and benevolent looks from the delegates, N.S. Stolyarov, senior lecturer at the Yu.A. Gagarin Air Force Academy, walked up to the rostrum. And his first words as chairman of the [Russian Communist Party Central Committee] Control Commission were these: "I am convinced that our commission must become a faculty of party ethics."

He gave his first interview to PRAVDA.

[Pyatiletova] Nikolay Sergeyevich, did your nomination to this post come as a surprise, and what prompted you to agree to it?

[Stolyarov] It was a total surprise. I cannot say I rejoiced at the sound of my own name. But you have to proceed from reality in politics. You have to think about unity of word and deed. You will agree that if, after all my calls from the congress platform—to defend the interests of the party and of Communists—I had left this as merely a fine intention and had not reinforced it with my own practical position, I would scarcely have had the moral right not only to lecture others but even to respect myself.

Second, I know that now is a very difficult time for the party, as it is for the whole country and the whole people, and something must be done. In my view, we should start primarily by boosting the party's prestige as the connecting link between central, presidential authority and organs of people's power. Only unity between the party and the soviets can help us to advance along the path which we have determined, the path toward the market.

[Pyatiletova] Sharp debate continues over the draft Russian Communist Party action program. What is your view on it?

[Stolyarov] I am afraid that, compared with the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress, it looks like a backward step, and we must certainly not tolerate this. But, on the other hand, this draft contains alternative versions. Why are we not discussing them? We are now focusing our attention merely on personal criticism of a particular leader and for some reason are not looking more deeply. I think that if a careful quest is conducted, it is possible to find ways of coordinating the program documents of the 28th CPSU Congress and the Russian Communists. The Russian Communist Party is part of the CPSU, albeit an independent part.

[Pyatiletova] Nikolay Sergeyevich, the results of the vote and the applause with which delegates greeted the announcement of them eloquently characterize the attitude of the majority of congress participants toward you. But in the corridors I also heard doubts: Are not military men usurping party power? The deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission is a lieutenant general, and you are a colonel...

[Stolyarov] I would not draw any dividing line between Communists in uniform and out of it. The point should be the Communist's position—both political and moral. It is not uniform that determines its content. In this connection there is something else I have to mention: The question of the need for broad representation of workers as a guarantee of the worker-peasant character of the party has been repeatedly raised at the congress. I am opposed to one class having a leading position in relation to another, whoever it may be. And just try nowadays to divide our party up according to class. Rather it divides into people who want to live in the new way and are working for this, and people who pay lip service to perestroyka but are unfortunately doing everything to live in the old way.

Results of Yeltsin's First 100 Days Analyzed

PM1209110190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by Stepan Kiselev under the rubric "Essay at a Political Portrait": "100 Days in One Year. Boris Yeltsin's First 100 Days as Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Are Over"]

[Text] The month is May. The First Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies under the leadership of the unforgettable Vasiliy Ivanovich [Kazakov] is debating the question of Russian sovereignty. Nothing is yet clear: There is a fog of opinions, a multitude of drafts, and no agreement. In one of the reports from that time I ventured to attempt to divine the future. I wrote: It cannot be ruled out that the resolution of the Russian sovereignty question will put an end to the scenario by which perestroyka has been developing hitherto. What comes next, as they say, is another story. "If only we had a sovereignty declaration and a political leader capable of implementing it."

Today, more than three months on, the Russian Federation has both of these things. So? The other story has begun...

Second Coming

If Boris Yeltsin's book is to be believed—and I personally have no reason to doubt it—at the end of 1978, having made a "political mistake" at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum and been released from high-ranking party posts, he took a call from the general secretary and was offered a job at the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs: "You can do whatever suits you, but I will never allow you back into political life." And that was apparently that—three years ago. And it has to be said that the promise "not to allow him back" was consistently kept.

But on 29 May 1990, the day the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman was to be elected, our country's history ceased to be the top man's personal affair and switched to its natural course. The deputies elected Yeltsin, and a protracted historical drama approached its finale.

In returning to this story today my purpose is not to indulge in futile "remembrance of things past," with the risk of causing myself woe. I absolutely refuse to view it as a story of the interrelationship between two political leaders—a story that others hold dear. Yeltsin was brought back to the pinnacle of power not only by his own personal qualities but also by out-of-sight processes that were coming to a head in May this year. What processes?

Perestroyka came "from above." I do not think that special proof is now needed for this now banal assertion, or for the fact that the Soviet people received democracy, glasnost, and pluralism ready-made from "the powers that be" rather than winning it in a struggle against the totalitarian system.

This is the main contradiction of perestroyka: The movement toward democracy (that is, toward people's power) did not originate from the people but was conceived and scripted by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He was the driving force of perestroyka, he produced the ideas, and he—made mistakes. All this was called democratization. But democracy comes only when "no god, no king, no politician" [line from the "Internationale"] but the people themselves make their choice and themselves decide how they want to live, for what values, and under whose leadership. The people had to feel that they were the masters. And here the destiny of a disgraced functionary intersected with the people's need to take independent action.

Something impossible in 1985 happened five years later: The victor on the day that the new RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman was elected was not Yeltsin but the people, who voiced their legitimate claims to power.

The Cassandra Inheritance

They say that when he took over from his predecessor, Vitaliy Vorotnikov, the newly elected head of the republic parliament received only a slim file of documents relating to current matters whose contents it took him less than an hour to study; the papers told only one-tenth of the story, incidentally. Sorting out the actual current matters would prove to be much more difficult.

Last September, during his much-ballyhooed tour of America, Yeltsin warned of the possibility of disaster overtaking his country within a year. At the time even he himself could hardly have supposed that at the moment of this "appointment" with disaster he would be, not an oppositionist free of the obligations of power, but head of the parliament of the country's largest republic. "The Cassandra of perestroyka," as my American colleagues dubbed him, has become the prisoner of his own prophecies.

He grabbed power, which had slipped out of the hands of the "old guard," at the very last minute, at a moment when many opportunities for economic reform had been missed, when a pack of Marlboro had become the "universal equivalent of labor," and the range of consumer goods on store shelves had shrunk to just the point where you could count them on your fingers. USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] figures warn: Labor productivity, gross national product, and national income have fallen; inflation, the foreign trade deficit, and the government debt have increased. Disaster is no longer a step but only a few centimeters away.

It is obvious that the head of the Russian parliament was deprived of even the slightest opportunity to conduct reforms in line with the classic model: Laws today, followed by changes for the better tomorrow. But it is equally obvious that there are no such things as miracles and prosperity does not appear overnight. What other options are there?

"Genius is not a gift from God but a way out of a desperate situation," a French professor once noted. We are facing a desperate situation today, but we will be able to judge the new Russian leadership's genius only when they succeed in puzzling their way out of the complex situation in which they find themselves—through no fault of its own, incidentally.

It is therefore a question of how much time they have left. The new Russian parliament and its head have spent their first 100 days in office trying to "stay up all night and keep going all day," like in the children's story.

Trusted Team

Politics is a team game. And no matter how high Boris Yeltsin's popularity rating may be, it might not be enough even for him when it comes to social upheavals resulting from radical economic reform. Yeltsin himself seems to be very aware of this. And, lacking the opportunities for immediate economic recovery, he is gambling on the psychological factor: Only the people's trust in the Russian government is capable of buying the time needed to implement reforms. Yeltsin approaches the formation of his team primarily on the basis of three criteria: competence, popularity, and youth.

Although the formation of the cabinet is formally the prerogative of the Council of Ministers chairman, Yeltsin's intuition and sympathies have undoubtedly had an impact on the selection of candidates for ministerial posts. Gennadiy Filshin, Viktor Yaroshenko, Nikolay Fedorov, Viktor Kisin, and Mikhail Poltoranin, who have become popular as a result of their criticism of the Union government's unpopular measures and are the authors of many alternative draft laws, will undoubtedly give the Yeltsin team additional "points."

Very precise consideration has also been given to the age factor. Aware of the allergy to "geriatric government," of which society has not yet managed to cure itself since the stagnation period, Yeltsin is bringing into the government specialists who, according to the old nomenklatura criteria, are "unsuitably young."

This is sheer populism, of course! But Yeltsin would not be Yeltsin if he took account of only the view of a certain group of voters. His experience as an old apparatchik and political acumen told him that a consensus government cannot be put together exclusively from objects of public admiration and stars of parliamentary democracy. He is attempting to fuse the unfusable: One part of the government has to symbolize a complete break with the old power structures, while the other has to ensure continuity. So the people being enlisted to work in the

government also include experienced old hands of the administrative edict system who, admittedly, have not been compromised by involvement in odious "projects of the century" or corruption.

So the new Russian authorities—formed for the first time without suggestions from Staraya Ploshchad [CPSU Central Committee headquarters]—are ready for action. But... "For the next two or three years placating people will be very difficult even for us, who possibly enjoy the people's trust"—was how B. Yeltsin assessed the situation in an interview with a Swiss newspaper.

Greetings From Boa

The politician's tasks is as follows: It is one thing to take power and something completely different to retain it, transforming it into a mechanism for enriching the people; it is one thing to declare sovereignty and something completely different to translate this declaration into real independence. Having said "a" at the first congress of Russian deputies the new head of parliament has had to say "b" when solving the second part of this political equation.

But what, strictly speaking, is power? It is constantly said that the party is transferring power to the soviets or the center is transferring plenipotentiary powers to the republics. How does this work? I remember a sequence from an extremely educational cartoon. A monkey goes up to Jumbo the elephant and says: "I bring you greetings from Boa the constrictor." "Gimme, quick," says Jumbo, pleased. He is a pragmatist and thinks in concrete terms, so he is disappointed when he sees that Monkey's hands are empty. The same thing sometimes happens with the transfer of power.. "Gimme!" cry the republics and soviets, but in response all they get is air. This means: You can have the power ("greetings from Boa"), but we get the printing plants, the banks, the gold, the buildings. But you get the power. Exercise it.

No, the new Russian leadership is also pragmatic. For them power is not a piece of paper carrying the text of a declaration but something more concrete. You cannot give your people something if you do not have anything yourself.

So power is property, and property is in the republic's hands. And there would be no problems if power was not a constant magnitude subject, albeit paradoxically, to the law of conservation of matter: If something is added in one place, the exact equivalent is subtracted from someplace else. In other words, the strengthening of Russia's sovereign power means a directly proportional weakening of the power of the center.

We all remember how sensitively the center reacted to Baltic region legal enactments analogous to the Russian sovereignty declaration. Russia has been followed by the Ukraine and Belorussia. The relationship between the republic and the center has changed fundamentally: In the early days a USSR presidential decree might have abrogated individual republics' declarations in some way, but abrogating the whole country is absurd. And then the center of gravity of the political struggle shifted to the sphere of concrete legislation. It assumed particular acuteness in the so-called "diamond affair."

Let me remind you: In mid-August the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed Union government deals with the West invalid if they were concluded without agreement with the Russian authorities and were detrimental to the republic's economic sovereignty. This decision affected first and foremost the recent sale of uncut Russian diamonds to the De Beers Company. (We carried a story about this in our newspaper on 31 August).

I believe that this episode was the new authorities' most serious test in the course of their first "100 days." I don't know the nature or content of the subsequent conversation that M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin had in this connection at a five-hour meeting behind closed doors, but at a news conference held immediately afterwards one of them said that "there will be no repetition of this political mix-up." Does this mean that a test of seriousness of intent has been passed?

Both Pope and Luther

LE MONDE's Moscow correspondent B. Guetta once made what I regard as a very witty and accurate remark about Gorbachev's position, which has remained the same for all these five years of perestroyka: "He is both Pope and Luther at the same time."

The initiator of perestroyka, having no equal as a politician in the country, has been doomed to solitary power all this time. Apart from being thankless for the politician himself, this situation is also dangerous for the country too. That fine story-teller Shvarts warned all revolutionaries: It is very difficult to slay a dragon and not become a dragon yourself. It is very difficult to get rid of totalitarianism single-handed without erecting some kind of "new type" of totalitarianism among the rubble. The only salvation is democracy. But democratic institutions "don't work" without political dialogue between equal parties.

Yeltsin's appearance in the political arena and the ability to take authoritative independent action that he has already shown in his first "100 days" have radically changed the situation in the country.

"There are no greater or lesser presidents, just are there are no greater or lesser peoples," the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman is fond of repeating. This new political doctrine preached by the head of the Russian parliament, while playing the role of a buffer between the republics and the center, also enhances the status of the heads of sovereign union republic which only yesterday were still in a semi-vassal position. The abandonment of imperial positions is thus creating a situation in the country that is extremely conducive to the signing of a new Union treaty, a treaty of equals.

The same doctrine has also been built into the transformation of the Russian Federation.

"The hand of he that giveth doth not wither," the Biblical commandment runs. I think that we will be persuadable that this is right only when we get as far as the signing of a federal treaty or a vote on a decree on power at the Second Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. In the same way we will be convinced—as, I hope, many people are already convinced—that Yeltsin today is not the Boris the Terrible of the age of the blossoming of perestroyka but has instilled terror in the boyars of the nomenklatura.

"Three D's"—The Reform Formula

Doveriye. Dinamizm. Dialog. [Trust. Dynamism. Dialogue.]

These three components of the general formula for Russian reforms have been demonstrated in Boris Yeltsin's first "100 days" in the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

In resolving the "three d's" formula the new republic leadership is initiating a completely different history of Russia. I'm not saying that it will be calm and cloudless, especially at the beginning. I'm not saying that it will feed, shoe, and placate us by the time that the "500 days" of the approaching economic reform have expired. I'm only saying that henceforth history will be controlled by objective economic laws rather than "leaders' wisdom," that it will driven by itself rather than by "revolutionary enthusiasm."

It is completely wrong, in my view, to say that a revolution has taken place in Russia. What has come is a time of consistent and organic reforms rather than revolutionary transformations of the world, which have caused our motherland so much suffering.

Polozkov Cited on Bread Supply, Market

90UN2785B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 9 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by V. Ukolov: "Running Start; Press Conference of the Secretaries of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Immediately after the organizational plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, I. Polozkov introduced to the journalists those who were elected secretaries of the Central Committee at the plenum: A. Ilyin, I. Antonovich, G. Zyuganov, and N. Silkova. He explained that the elections were held in a competitive campaign and that only Nina Prokopyevna did not have rivals.

Questions were immediately "tossed" at her from the hall. First of all, about the profile of future activity. N. Silkova said that she sees among the main tasks of the party the involvement of women in public activity and making their work and domestic conditions easier.

Concerning bread: Why has it disappeared from Moscow store shelves and fallen into the shortage category?

I. Polozkov answered: It seems that the data that the press has is outdated and that order has already been restored. In addition, the CPSU Central Committee and the Moscow Gorkom [City Party Committee] were compelled to intervene by using their authority. The new soviets still lack experience, and this is precisely what explains the breakdowns in supplying the people with the most necessary product.

The first secretary of the Russian Central Committee lists stabilization of the economy among the paramount tasks, which will open the way to peace, harmony, and to civic unity of the people. The market should not be feared; it is only a more effective method of administration that urges each person to do effective work and that creates an interest for him.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA question: Has the idea that was expressed in the draft action program on the creation of an all-Russian council of secretaries of primary organizations been retained?

"This idea came from the secretaries themselves," answered I. Polozkov, "and they tried to implement it throughout the congress. However, it was not accomplished in time. The organizational committee is continuing to work. I think that it will prepare a good draft. We must review relationships with primary organizations in detail in order to guarantee every possible authority for the party masses.

Russian Government, Trade Unions Open Talks

LD1209130990 Moscow TASS in English 1226 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Agabekov and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The Russian government led by Prime Minister Ivan Silayev today began talks with the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions. The trade union delegation is led by federation Chairman Igor Klochkov.

It is expected that Klockhov will describe the structure, aims and tasks of the federation, Grigoriy Yavlensky, chairman of the Economic Reform Commission, will speak about moves towards a market economy.

The sides will discuss agreements between the Trade Union Federation and the Russian government on social and economic issues for 1991.

Silayev Says RSFSR Needs Independent Unions

LD1209215390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The new government of Russia and the republic's independent trade unions have begun drafting a program defending the interests of workers:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent I. Kushnarenko] First and foremost, with whom has the Russian government sat down to talk? With the independent trade unions of Russia, which 56 million out of the 77 million trade unionists in Russia have already voluntarily joined. This is the difference between Klochkov's trade unions and Polozkov's party, which regards all the communists living in Russia as having already joined the republic's Communist Party. The administration-command system, in other words dictatorship, has been abolished in Klochkov's trade unions. This is also a difference between them and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions where the tune was called by both the government and the Politburo.

[Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers] Under the new conditions, we unquestionably need independent trade unions. I have the impression that this is precisely the way they intend to go about things. But, at the same time, we understand that at this gathering we have been given a certain advantage in terms of trust. Therefore, we have an obligation to treat the results of the meeting and the decisions it takes seriously.

[I.Y. Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions] On both sides we have come, I think, to one important conclusion: We have to find defense mechanisms that will prevent millions of our fellow citizens from falling into poverty and going below the poverty line.

Second is the question of employment and unemployment, the status of being unemployed, the size of benefits, and so on.

[Kushnarenko] In the Russian government, did you find a partner or a patron?

[Klochkov] I think that the word patron is an absolutely unacceptable expression. Of course, it is a partner. We base our activities on building a partnership. We intend to maintain a constructive position with regard to the government. [end recording]

Conference Addresses RSFSR Economic Reform

LD0709161390 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The mechanism needed to reform the Russian economy is being discussed at a conference of economic executives from across the Republic and deputies to all levels of soviets. The conference is being attended by more than 700 people, including 80 USSR people's deputies and more than 100 Russian people's deputies.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy told the conference about the programme for the transition to market relations, worked out by a group of scientists and specialists headed by Stanislav Shatalin and known as "500 days."

Yavlinskiy is a deputy prime minister of Russia and a member of the Shatalin group. According to him, the first four to five months during the implementation of the programme will be pivotal. This stage must avoid the large scale disruption of economic links. Most importantly, the rouble must be stabilised.

Yavlinskiy noted that it is necessary to lay the foundation of the market mechanism during the initial stage. He stressed that state regulation of prices for consumer goods must be waived gradually. Prices for 100 to 150 kinds of commodities and services, which largely determine the population's standard of living, will have to be frozen until the end of 1991. In the future, the state will release control over retail prices stage by stage, depending on the market situation.

USSR People's Deputy Gennadiy Filshin, another deputy prime minister of Russia, told participants in the conference about the mechanism for interaction between the management structures of the Russian federation and the union. He said, among other things, that the Union Bank would no longer issue money on orders from the Union Council of Ministers or the USSR Supreme Soviet. New money will only be issued in accordance with a republican quota. Taxable foreign currency reserves will be kept on the accounts of producers for export.

Filshin told the conference that federal departments were seeking to put the burden of loss-making enterprises, like the metro, upon the shoulders of local authorities.

The conference continues its work.

Popov Tells Moscow Deputies To Consider Reform

PM1209075390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by A. Davydov: "Capital's Soviet"]

[Text] The deputies of the Moscow city and rayon soviets—around 5,000 people in all—assembled in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 7 September.

The deputies were addressed by Moscow City Soviet Chairman G.Kh. Popov. He dwelt in detail on the reasons for the acute shortages of a number of essential goods and acquainted the meeting participants both with the ongoing measures and with the programs for profound changes geared to the fundamental improvement of the situation. There was information on what specific steps the Moscow City Soviet has taken to increase production of bread and tobacco products.

In the Moscow City Soviet chairman's opinion, city management needs to be throughly reformed. Popov

named as promising areas: bringing territorial administration division into line with the actual economic potential of city rayons; amalgamating Moscow and Moscow Oblast; decentralizing the economy as far as possible; strengthening executive authority through the direct election of the city mayor, rayon soviet executive committee chairmen, and also people's judges. The city soviet chairman urged the deputies to carefully discuss the questions relating to the upcoming reform and submit specific proposals to the next Moscow City Soviet session, which is expected to start in three days' time.

Communists Lose Majority in Leningrad Council

LD1309074690 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Thirty-two members of the newly elected Leningrad City Council have announced they are leaving the Soviet Communist Party. Thus, for the first time in Soviet history, Communists have a minority in a local body of government.

Council Extends Aid Arrangements for Refugees

LD1209110190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] In a conversation with a TASS correspondent, Rudnev, head of the Emigration and Resettlement Administration, reported that there are now about 10,000 refugees resident in Moscow and the Moscow region. Their maintenance in the Moscow region at the expense of receiving organizations has been extended again by decision of the USSR Council of Ministers. This is the fourth extension since May, and probably not the last. It is very difficult to help the refugees, as their main demand is the provision of apartments equal to those they abandoned in Azerbaijan, and moreover they want them, if not in Moscow, then in the large towns of central or southern Russia. On 1 October the next period of extension expires, but it is possible that it will prove necessary to extend the refugees' maintenance again and again.

Pskov Oblast Protests Baltic Border Claims

90UN2771C Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed article: "Illegal Claims"]

[Text] The Pskov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium has sent firm protests to the presidiums of the Latvian and Estonian Supreme Soviets regarding unilateral attempts undertaken by state organs and groups of citizens of these republics to change their borders with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

The messages reject the "foundations" of the territorial claims as completely groundless and based only on a short and extremely complex segment of the history of our multiethnic state. In the meantime, the documents emphasize, the histories of the Russian cities and population centers affected by these claims encompass centuries.

The presidium of the oblast soviet of people's deputies points out to the presidiums of the Latvian and Estonian Supreme Soviets the need to respect the RSFSR Declaration of Sovereignty.

The messages express confidence that Latvia and Estonia will undertake all the necessary measures to respect the sovereignty and territorial guarantees codified in the Constitutions of the USSR and the RSFSR.

Kurgan Obkom First Secretary Retires 11 Sep

LD1109171990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] A plenum of the oblast party committee [obkom] took place today in Kurgan. It considered an organizational issue. Comrade Plekhanov has been released from his duties as obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on health grounds. A commission has been formed to prepare the second stage of the plenum to elect a first secretary of the CPSU obkom on a multicandidate basis.

First Secretary of Ufa Area Raykom Resigns

90UN2710A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Zinovyev: "The Secretary Had to Go"]

[Text] Ufa—The conflict between R. Tamindarov, first secretary of the Gafuriyskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Committee], and law enforcement organs has ended in the resignation of the party leader.

IZVESTIYA reported on this conflict a month ago (No. 198). I recall the topic of discussion being the constant and unlawful interference by the party raykom secretary in the work of law enforcement organs, as a result of which 25 police employees, headed by the chief of the Rayon Internal Affairs Division (ROVD), left the CPSU. The rayon prosecutor and chairman of the rayon People's Court also turned in their party cards. This is how people expressed their protest against being ordered around by a party official.

This action did not disturb R. Tamindarov, however. Occupying the party position, he was simultaneously the head of soviet power in the rayon, being chairman of the rayon soviet. Using this power he decided to make short order of the obstinate police leadership. He presented the question of its alleged unsatisfactory work before a session of the rayon soviet.

Presiding at the session, Tamindarov immediately revealed his sharp negative attitude toward the work of the police and proposed that the deputies express a lack

of confidence in ROVD chief M. Masagutov and his deputy. In a rare exception, however, the deputies failed to agree with this assessment. In their speeches they noted a marked improvement in police work of recent times. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the autonomous republic also sided with the Gafuriyskiy ROVD, a fact which was stated by Deputy Minister A. Shabrin, participating in the work of the session.

However, the chairman nonetheless presented the proposal on lack of confidence in the ROVD leadership for a vote. This did not take place.

In the final analysis, the actions of the chairman caused a reverse effect. leading to a conclusion he clearly did not expect. A number of deputies, including the rayon executive committee chairman, head of the ispolkom culture section, and others, sharply rebuked Tamindarov's leadership style, which had the rayon in a fever and was paralyzing normal operations. And rayon matters were getting worse all the time. As a result of heated debate, the session voted to relieve Tamindarov of his authority as chairman of the rayon soviet.

Immediately following the session, Tamindarov submitted an application regarding discharge from the position of party raykom first secretary. A plenum of the Gafuriyskiy CPSU Raykom approved this request.

Threats, Violence Reported in Tuva Conflict

90UN2710C Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent A. Shchegolyev: "Unrepulsed Onslaught"]

[Text] Kyzyl—Before me is a statement to the Tuvin ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs from the chairman of the "Kyzyl" Agrofirm, A.I. Semenov. In the name of the collective he requests assistance in ensuring the safety of property of "Kok-Tey" Sovkhoz [State Farm], located on Lake Ubsa-Nur. A brigade of sovkhoz fishermen who had begun to work there, with the authorization of the Tuvin ASSR Council of Ministers and rayon authorities, were compelled to hurriedly abandon the shore which had turned inhospitable. Raids of uninvited visitors from the settlement of Ak-Chyraa and Torgalyg were driving the workers out. Day and night, groups of seven or eight in state vehicles would appear in the locality of the fishermen's camp, challenging the team to a brawl. In the final analysis, they presented the workers with an ultimatum—either they clear out from the lake area in three days, "or you will have a Sut-Khol."

The tragic occurrence on Lake Sut-Khol, where two Russian workers of the Upper Yenisey Fishery and a teenager related to one of them were brutally murdered, is well known to the entire republic. Thus, the sovkhoz fishermen were not about to wait for repeated threats. As a result, the contract with the Mongolian People's Republic was broken, and without the necessary food supplements young hogs at the sovkhoz were abandoned.

A sovkhoz apiary in Liy-Khemskiy Rayon was driven out in the same manner, forced all the way into the territory of Krasnoyarsk Kray. The agrofirm chairman states further that drivers of the "Kyzyl" Motor Vehicle Transport Enterprise "refuse to drive out to 'Tere-Khol' Sovkhoz because, in the presence of Director S.D. Seden-oola, a tractor operator tried to crush drivers Plotnikov and Sharov with his tractor, forbidding them to drive here..." The letter ends with the request "to take appropriate measures, since the drivers categorically refuse to drive out without security."

A workers' meeting was recently conducted at the "Kaa-Khem" Strip Mine, with the notice "On the Question of Interethnic Relations and the Atmosphere of Crime in the Republic." Questionnaires were distributed prior to the meeting, in which the following points were addressed in particular: "Do you intend to leave in any event?" Or "Do you intend to leave in the event the situation is not normalized?" Eighty percent of the respondents replied "yes" to the latter question.

This strip mine, which provides fuel for the entire republic, is on the verge of ceasing operation. Almost all of the Russian-speaking people from its branch in the town of Chadan have presently left. Now the time has come for residents of Kaa-Khem and Kyzyl to pack up their bags. "They sent a courier to Kemerovo Oblast—almost the entire brigade is prepared to move out," states earth-mover operator V.A. Bogatov. "Why are we leaving? We are tired of fear. We want to live normally. I have been in Tuva since 1952—brought here as a three-year old boy. I would not be looking for a new place when I get to be old, if the situation were not like this."

The exodus of highly qualified specialists, which threatens to shut down enterprises, construction projects, hospitals, schools—in short, to paralyze the entire industrial as well as social infrastructure of the republic—alarms everyone capable of sensibly assessing the situation.

"We must restore people's trust, give them confidence in tomorrow," Deputy Tuvin ASSR Prosecutor N.A. Ondar is convinced. "But to do this we must restore law and order. How can it be that our unsolved crimes number about a thousand? I believe that today's failures are on the conscience of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) as well, which continues to operate without much effort, to put things mildly."

Why are the police, the main force to confront the criminal world, so powerless? The report of V.I. Lukashev, Tuvin ASSR deputy minister of internal affairs, provides a great many answers. Submitted in March to higher echelon law enforcement organs, this report states that the main reason is protectionism, favoritism, and corruption in republic MVD organs, which has grown stronger in recent years. We need consider just one fact—about half of those who work in investigations are

nonprofessionals, most of whom are accepted for service on the basis of kinship ties. With a great many specific facts and detailed analysis of the situation, the report went to Moscow back in March. But to this day there has been just one consequence. Having learned of its existence, the session of the Tuvin ASSR Supreme Soviet did not confirm the deputy credentials of Police Lieutenant Colonel V.I. Lukashev, elected 16 June 1990 as people's deputy on a competitive basis. This is what you get for washing the dirty linen.

Not long ago leaders of the autonomous republic visited I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. They discussed the situation in Tuva and jointly charted measures to improve it. Upon their return home, delegation members discussed their trip with republic residents.

"This year we saw delayed-action mines detonated which were laid decades ago," stated Sh.D. Oorzhak, chairman of the Tuvin ASSR Council of Ministers. "Our economy and social sphere clearly are lagging behind in a number of extremely important indicators. This is the result of errors made in major sectors of development of the republic."

In his opinion, the widespread "illnesses" of the present period have not bypassed Tuva. These entail the enfeeblement of management at all levels caused by the fact that the party has begun to withdraw from deciding economic issues and the soviets have not yet been able to take power into their hands. Destroying the old command-administrative system, they have not acquired new economic levers. And as a result we see disorder in the national economy.

The "mines" began to explode when a clear disproportion was uncovered in the allocation of Tuva's forces of production. The basic means were supplied to the industrial centers, while no attention was paid to the villages, inhabited primarily by the indigenous population. And as a result it turned out that every other Tuvin shepherd's winter station is without electricity as of today. Just 19 percent of the children of cattle breeders go to kindergartens and nurseries. Rural inhabitants receive the lowest wages in the republic. As a result, the per capita standard of living in Tuva occupies last place in Russia. This has to a great extent determined the presence of the conflict. And as M.S. Kozlov, chairman of the Tuvin ASSR Supreme Soviet, justifiably notes, any conflict in an ethnic republic can be evaluated as an interethnic conflict.

"The situation is exacerbated by the fact that in the republic there is a distortion of ethnic policy, an underestimation of the significance of national culture, language, traditions, and customs. Can it be considered normal," he asks, "that we have, on the one hand, rayons inhabited only by Tuvinians and, on the other, entire branches of the economy in which basically Russians are employed?"

The events we see today only intensify this pathology. I am not afraid to say it again—this plays into the hands of those who want to fish in troubled waters. And it is an amazing thing that, against the background of inflamed passions, since the beginning of this year the procuracy has instituted criminal proceedings in only six cases for the kindling of ethnic strife. It is amazing because the nationalists do not hide themselves very well—they speak openly at meetings, tossing out provocative leaflets and fabricating appeals.

I have in my hands an example of this type of thing, brought entirely openly to the editorial offices of local newspapers with the demand that it be printed. It is called "Appeal of Journalists of Tuva State Television and Radio to the People's Deputies of the Tuvin ASSR Supreme Soviet," and is signed by specific individuals. They state directly in the preamble that "the domination of the large Russian-speaking population is extremely destructive for the rising generation of local inhabitants." (For your information, according to data from the most recent all-Union census, the Tuvin ASSR is inhabited by 64.3 percent Tuvinians, 32 percent Russians, and 3.7 percent people of other nationalities).

What are the propagandists of the air waves demanding? A legislative statute establishing:

a) immediate and first-priority living space and job placement for the indigenous population throughout the territory of Tuva;

b) that an oath of loyalty as a citizen of the Tuvin ASSR be taken by representatives of all other nationalities;

c) the voluntary return to their own, historical, native land—Russia—of all Russian-speaking inhabitants born in the territory of the republic after 11 October 1944, the date of voluntary entry of the Tuvin People's Republic into the USSR;

d) elections to the Kyzyl City Soviet of People's Deputies from territories not of the city, but of the entire republic, so that at least two-thirds of those elected "come from the indigenous Tuvinian population and nationality."

The saddest thing is that this demand comes not from people ignorant and illiterate to the fault of public education, but from representatives of the intelligentsia, called upon to sow the seeds of wisdom, good, and everlasting values....

Today Kyzyl lives in expectation. On 20 August there will be a plenum of the CPSU oblast committee on interethnic issues, and then a session of the republic Supreme Soviet, whose agenda includes the question of the republic's sovereignty. Many hopes, many doubts. What will triumph—common sense and good will, or extremism based on chauvinism? The desire to settle their problems themselves, or a tenor of laying new "delayed-action mines" in the economy and ideology?

Interethnic Disputes in North Ossetiya

LD1109184390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Spontaneous meetings and assemblies are continuing for a second day in North Ossetia. A new rash of meetings has been caused by a transmission on the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA video channel last Sunday, which has been deemed tendentious here for its coverage of the difficult problems of interethnic relations. Public representatives made a statement saying that the peoples of North Ossetia bear no political or legal responsibility for actions committed in 1942 against the Tunguz and other peoples of the region. Also put forward was a call for the inclusion on the list of repressed peoples the residents of Cossack villages subjected to genocide in 1918-20, and for an emergency session of the republican Supreme Soviet to be held.

Western Republics

Belorussian Party's Draft Statutes Published

PM1209103790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[BELTA-TASS report: "Statutes for Belorussian Communist Party"]

[Text] Minsk, 10 Sep—The draft Statutes of the Belorussian Communist Party have been published here for broad discussion. They point out that the Belorussian Communist Party is a constituent part of the CPSU. At the same time the draft reflects the changes to the republic's political structure enshrined in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic's Declaration of State Sovereignty recently adopted by its parliament.

Thus, during the period between plenums political and organizational questions will be resolved by a Politburo. Although the creation of factions is not permitted in the Belorussian Communist Party, the draft Statutes provide for communists' right to unite on platforms in the course of debates. The draft of the new document consolidates the need for cooperation with all public forces that adhere to positions of democracy and social justice. It also emphasizes the possibility of a dialogue with opposition political movements, even including the creation of coordinating councils to resolve vital problems in all spheres of life in the republic.

Radioactive Spot Reported Near City Center

PM1209133590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Report by A. Guretskiy and A. Sinegubov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A dangerous radiation pollution area has been discovered in Brest.

[Reporter] This area, and we could hardly believe this at first, is located 300 meters from the main entrance to the Brest Fortress. The alarm was sounded by the Brest Oblast Nature Conservation Committee. Its chairman, Vasiliy Sevastyanovich Kosyanchuk, promised to meet us at short notice, to see for himself on the spot what was going on. Radiation was measured. And here is the result.

How much?

[V.S. Kosyanchuk, chairman of the Brest Oblast Nature Conservation Committee] On this spot it is 700 microroentgens per hour. That is 35 times higher than natural background radiation.

[Reporter] The cause appeared to be the soil, which seemed quite normal at first glance. More accurately, the radiation came from remnants of radioactive raw material which used to be transloaded here. [video shows an unused railroad track]

Have you informed anyone about this?

[Kosyanchuk] But of course. The hydrometeorological center, the oblast hygiene and epidemiological station, the oblast civil defense headquarters, the oblast soviet executive committee: What more could we have done?

[Reporter] The transloading facility was closed down, and a layer of the soil was removed. But clearly the job was not completely finished. And so a seat of lethal danger has appeared in the oblast. Meanwhile there is a well from which drinking water is drawn, a kindergarten, housing, and a lively thoroughfare nearby. And the population is totally unaware.

So why this inexplicable delay?

[M.O. Lyakhov, deputy chairman of the Brest City Soviet Executive Committee] The delay is not inexplicable. The executive committee has been attending to this for a long time. We managed to close down the facility. Unloading no longer takes place there.

[Reporter] At the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee a special section to deal with the consequences of the Chernobyl accident has set up. The danger spot about which we have been talking can be seen from its windows.

Gorbachev Meets With Moldavian Deputies

LD1209200990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting took place today between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and USSR people's deputies from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova.

During the meeting, the situation that has developed in the republic and ways of normalizing it were comprehensively discussed. In the common view of those attending the meeting, the situation with regard to interethnic relations in the republic has reached a high level of acuteness and requires urgent measures. The reason for the exacerbation lies in the errors committed by the republic's leadership in nationalities policy, the ambiguity of some of the adopted documents, and its position toward the Union.

At the same time, it was noted that the problems that have arisen have to be tackled while observing the constitution and retaining the integrity of the republic. In the search for mutually acceptable accords, the people's deputies requested that the USSR president send to the republic a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Presidential Council in order to help with working out agreed decisions.

The meeting was attended by Comrades Lukyanov, Ryzhkov, Primakov, and Nishanov.

Moldavian, Russian Delegations Meet in Kishinev

LD0509182590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0930 GMT 5 Sep 90

[By correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 5 Sep (TASS)—The first official meeting of delegations of the Supreme Soviets and governments of Moldova and the Russian Federation has been held in Kishinev. The sides exchanged opinions on the concept of a future treaty on the principles of interstate relations.

"All-round cooperation between Moldova and Russia is in keeping with the national interests of our peoples and serves the cause of peace and security," the TASS correspondent was told by Ion Khadyrke, leader of the Moldovan delegation and first deputy chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet.

"The delegations noted full agreement of the sides' positions on questions of mutual recognition of state sovereignty, the right of each state to become a subject of international law, to dispose of its own wealth and resources. Relations between Moldova and the Russian Federation should be built on the basis of equality, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and observance of the generally-accepted principles of cooperation between states in keeping with the UN charter."

The draft of the future treaty between sovereign Moldova and Russia envisages bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres of the republic's life.

Creation of Moldavian Carabinieri Unit Assailed

90UN2776A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 7 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by S. Doronin published under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Legislation in Moldova"]

[Text] As we have already reported, a special session of the republic's Supreme Soviet adopted the decree "On Military Service of Citizens of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova." In accordance with this decree, several articles of the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law "On Universal Military Duty" are considered invalid on the territory of the republic.

It was established that citizens of Moldova will not be called up to active military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces except by special decision of the republic's parliament. The government is charged with conducting negotiations for the return of citizens of Moldova serving beyond its borders so that they may serve the rest of their term in military units and subunits stationed on the territory of the republic. The government is also charged with developing a program for forming military units of a national army.

It was reported that the republic's government has adopted a decree on the creation within the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of a ten-thousand-man body of carabinieris.

Our correspondent S. Doronin asked Major General V. Nikitin, chief of an administrative section of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR to comment on the aforementioned decree:

[Nikitin] The parliament's decision is an example of how undesirable it is to be hasty concerning such a vital question as the reliable defense of the country. Especially now, during a period of active work on an all-Union treaty, in which the problems of the military will be given appropriate treatment and the future Armed Forces will be defined: Will they remain a unified, mutually-connected system functioning on the basis of the decisions of the supreme organs of USSR state power, or will the republics decide questions of defense independently?

Anticipating the problem is not the best course of action. It disorganizes things and confuses people. After all, everyone remembers the consequences of similar premature rulings by the parliaments of Lithuania, Armenia, and the Ukraine, which resulted in a wave of desertion and absences without leave by compulsory service personnel. Who had to answer before the law for that? Not the parliaments, but the soldiers and sergeants.

And here is how Lieutenant General B. Smyslov, first deputy commander of Internal Forces of the USSR MVD, evaluates the ruling on a body of carabinieris:

[Smyslov] This idea was proposed long ago, and the republic had and continues to have no need for such a unit. At one time, responding to the request from the

leadership of Moldova, we increased the number of subunits of USSR MVD Internal Troops. But now this contingent does not suit the republic's leaders. There is only one reason—the subunits have a multiethnic membership, and they do not serve the ideas of separatism and ethnic exclusivity. And of course with the internal political situation in the republic so complex, the parliament cannot use these forces in the interests of suppressing dissatisfaction with its rulings.

A ten-thousand-man body of carabinieri is pure camouflage. It is a prototype for future self-defense forces.

The editorial board also got in touch with Colonel V. Semenchuk, deputy military commissar of the Republic of Moldova:

[Semenchuk] The illegality of the decree, which repeals several articles of the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law "On Universal Military Duty," is apparent. I wish to address myself to the servicemen who have been conscripted from the republic: Show restraint and understanding and do not hurry to desert. Remember that desertion and absence without leave are military crimes for which it is necessary to answer before the law.

At present a parliamentary commission for state security and military questions is preparing an appeal to Moldavian troops. It says for soldiers and sailors to continue serving and to wait for a final resolution of the question from the leadership of the country and the Armed Forces.

Kravchuk Cited on Ukraine's Economic Dependence

LD1209220190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1808 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Kiev, 12 September, UKRINFORM-TASS—Correspondent Ivan Sayko reports:

Even so large a republic as the Ukraine is unable at present to exist independently, in a closed-off space, so to speak, said Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, at a press conference today. The reason for this is the lack of a number of strategic raw material resources such as oil, gas, ferrous metals, cotton, timber and others, of which the repubic can guarantee only 7-11 percent of its needs. This means that secession can only be within the framework of the Soviet Union. There is no economic alternative.

The second session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, which is to start work on 1 October, noted Leonid Kravchuk, should definitively map out the on-going route of the republic's move towards sovereignty not in the political, but primarily, the economic sense. At the political level this has already been decided: On 16 July, the first session adopted a declaration on the state sovereignty of the Ukraine.

The route to the statehood the republic intends to have, stressed the Supreme Soviet chairman, is extremely complex. The main complexity lies in the fact that many things are now determined not just by the position of the Ukraine but by actions of the other republics, which cannot be directly influenced. For example, procurement prices of meat are rising in Russia; they stand at more than 4,000 rubles per tonne. In the Ukraine, the figure is 1,900 rubles. It is clear that in such circumstances it is essential to take economic measures for one's own protection and to develop lateral ties between the republics.

Leonid Kravchuk also said that the presidium of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet has reached the conclusion that it is necessary to form a delegation that would carry out instructions and recommendations from parliament in work on the Union treaty.

It was reported at the press conference that the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet has repealed as illegal the decisions of the Chevonograd and certain other local soviets in Lvov Oblast (Western Ukraine) to dismantle monuments to Lenin.

Lvov Deserters' Situation Examined

PM1309103990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 p 2

[Report by "our correspondent" S. Romanyuk: "Lvov: Step to the Left, Step to the Right"]

[Text] My interlocutor fixed our meeting in Striyskiy Park. We sat on a forgotten bench and the timid short-haired boy talked about himself. But I did not know what to think of him. A deserter. He fled from his military unit, thus violating the law on universal military service.

Does that mean he is a criminal?

On 16 July the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet adopted the "Declaration on the Ukraine's State Sovereignty" and subsequently resolutions on military service by citizens of the Ukraine and the use of the republic's law enforcement organ workers beyond its borders. The aim of the latter document is clear and unambiguous: The republic's citizens must serve in the Ukraine. But talk is easy. And to forestall incorrect interpretations of the resolution the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted an appeal to draftee servicemen in which it has stressed that this resolution so far does not have the force of a direct law [zakon pryamogo deystviya]. A compromise would seem to have been found.

Alas, the military regard the Supreme Soviet documents as not having the force of law and consequently as unworthy of attention. But however that may be, the soldiers are running away!

They are running home with the declaration in their hands. The Lvov Oblast soviet of people's deputies presidium has adopted a resolution according to which draftees from the Lvov region are not regarded as deserters if they have abandoned service outside the Ukrainian SSR. A very resolutely minded committee of Carpathian mothers has been created. It organized a

large meeting first on Vechevaya Square and later outside the headquarters of the Carpathian Military District.

The military had an interesting reaction to these events. Fighters do not just roar over the city for the sake of it but at precisely the time when the meeting was taking place outside the district headquarters the people of Lvov could observe the dashing swoops of a MiG over the rooftops.

While opposing legal nihilism we must nonetheless be more sensible. And I want to understand my interlocutor, who trusted the oblast soviet decision, which disagrees with the law on universal military service. There is a proposal to create a military unit in Lvov or to assign a separate barracks for deserter soldiers. Mikhaylo Pavlishin, chairman of the Oblast Soviet Standing Commission For Military Questions, believes that otherwise these soldiers, in hiding, will find ways of uniting for themselves....

Passions are not abating around the PRAVDA correspondents' center. A strike committee has picketed its premises. Here is how the oblast newspapers' correspondents assessed this event.

[VILNA UKRAINA] "When the person chairing the picketing meeting began to comment on articles written by V.A. Drozd, something happened which the organizers of the gathering had probably not expected: The circle of listeners began to split into individual groups.... You could hear people saying:

"'Surely in civilized countries a journalist has the right to his own thoughts?'"

The Lvov City Soviet Executive Committee, in contrast to the oblast soviet presidium, which demanded that the PRAVDA correspondent be expelled from Lvov, decided on a somewhat softer option. It is planned to extinguish the five-year debt for leasing the correspondents' center premises and to bring into line with legislation the decision to allocate housing for the correspondent's family.

Kolomyya in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast has become the latest city in the West Ukraine to be deprived of its monument to Lenin. Meanwhile, the newspaper LVOVSKAYA PRAVDA reported, the committee for the protection of the monument to V.I. Lenin in Nikolayev, Lvov Oblast, where the dismantling took place a few days earlier, has decided to open a bank account to collect funds to erect a new monument to the leader of the October Revolution in the city....

Odessa Port Workers Want Naval Base Removed

LD1209215990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1935 GMT 12 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Workers at the port of Odessa demand that a naval base be removed from the port.

[Correspondent S. Fateyev] Yes, this harbor, where, as many Odessa residents remember, water melons used to be brought from Kherson, is top secret. Foreign ships and passenger vessels are dashing about, and everything is in plain view from above, but God forbid to mention anywhere that here—attention, television news viewers, you are the first ones to see this!—in the center of Odessa, at the maritime trade port, a whole division of military sumbarines, our country's reliable shield, is based. [I.L. Medvedovskiy, port worker] According to a government decision taken in 1982, these ships should have been sold as scrap metal.

[Fateyev] As long as eight years ago?

[Medvedovskiy] That is correct. But until now only two submarines have been removed from here. Incidentally, they could not travel independently; they had to be towed away and sold abroad.

[Fateyev] The navy does not want to leave Odessa, in spite of legitimate demands put forward by port workers and local soviets. Perhaps it would be better, for strengthening the state, to return the water melon harbor to its original purpose.

Paper Published To Help Soviets' Deputies

LD1209222290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] The first issue of VECHERNIY NIKOLAYEV [Evening Nikolaev] newspaper has been brought out in Nikolaev. It is an organ of the town soviet of people's deputies. The new publication is to help the local soviets' deputies in solving the problems of implementing and mastering the principles of self-administration and territorial financial autonomy and in reflecting the shipbuilding town's public, political, and cultural life.

Influx of Crimean Tatars Strains Resources

LD1209154190 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Simpferopol September 12 TASS—The present situation in the Crimea has been described as an emergency by deputies at a session of the regional Council of People's Deputies. It is caused by the mass advent of Crimean Tatars wanting to permanently settle in the Crimea.

During the past six months nearly 20,000 people have arrived here straining the region's potential to provide jobs and housing to the breaking point.

Foodstuffs, building materials, schools, clinics, and kindergartens are in short supply. The new arrivals have set up a tent villages in the central squares of cities and villages. They have squatted on more than 500 hectares of arable land with the intention to build housing there.

All this causes alarm and discontent among the local population and threatens to reverse the well-wishing attitude to Crimean Tatars fostered by local authorities and Communist Party organisations.

Deputies told the session that local authorities have been confronted with a set of problems, while having no material or financial resources to defuse them. Speakers at the session were critical of the national and republican governments which have left the region in the lurch with their empty promises of assistance.

Having blasted people whose arbitrary actions are fanning tension in the Crimea, the regional Council of People's Deputies decided on additional measures to improve the situation.

Viewing the return of the Crimean Tatars and other deported peoples as an act of justice, people's deputies instructed their executive committees to continue arrangements to secure job placements and housing to new arrivals.

It was decided to set up a committee for the affairs of deported citizens at the regional executive committee to control the implementation of the state programme for the organized and voluntary return of Crimean Tatars to the region.

The deputies called on the Soviet national and the Ukrainian republican parliaments to consider the situation and help relieve the situation.

Caucasus

Armenian Groups Persuaded To Turn in Weapons

90US1305A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent L. Oganesyan under the rubric "News From the Republics": "Shots in the Night"]

[Text] Yerevan—During the night of 1 September a short burst of automatic weapons fire resounded at the corner of Komitas and Vagarshyan Streets in Yerevan, directly under my windows. The residents of our house interpreted these shots as a challenge to the curfew and a challenge to the efforts of the authorities to restore law and order without bloodshed.

And the previous evening, a day after the introduction of an state of emergency across the entire territory of the republic, M. Taroyan, director of the Artashak cognac factory called the SELSKAYA ZHIZN branch office. He reported that fighters of the ANA (Armenian National Army) had stolen a tanker truck with distilled alcohol. The militia sealed off the factory.

The information which has reached the watch unit of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs over the last 24 hours is rather varied. The criminal record includes robberies, thefts, aggravated assaults, larceny of state and private property, and 12 thefts of vehicles. Measures were taken, and eight vehicles that had been stolen earlier were observed and returned.

Fifty-one firearms, about 5,000 pieces of ammunition, and 1,000 kilograms of explosive substances were observed and confiscated as a result of the resolute actions of the militia and detachments to defend public order, carrying out the demands of the decree of the republic's Council of Ministers on the introduction of a state of emergency.

Thanks to explanatory efforts and local television broadcasts that are being conducted, fighters of the disbanded ANA in Shamdinskiy, Sevansikiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Ashtarakskiy Rayons and in Charentsavan and other cities were persuaded to turn in their weapons voluntarily. In individual rayons the leaders of the local subunits of the ANA announced their own disbandment and declared their wish to cooperate with the militia organs in preserving public order.

The parliament of the republic has been receiving numerous telegrams from labor collectives supporting the course that has been taken to normalize the situation. The collective of the Scientific Research Institute of Soil Science and Agricultural Chemistry supports the resolute measures of the Supreme Soviet. Many farms and organizations of the State Agroindustrial Committee are proposing their cooperation. The peasantry of the republic has suffered particularly as a result of the actions of the fighters. In the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] the fighters requisitioned cross-country vehicles indispensable for mountain conditions. Nor did the criminal detachments scorn road vehicles. For two months the special correspondents of central newspapers have been without cars: Some cars were stolen, and the rest had to be kept under lock and key.

The headquarters for the state of emergency, headed by Vozgnen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, continues to monitor the situation and implement the emergency routine and a curfew.

Gas Supply to Armenia Shut Off Again

PM1309111790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report filed from Yerevan by correspondent Sergey Bablumyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Gas Has Not Arrived in Armenia"]

[Text] By the time on 10 September when the evening edition of IZVESTIYA was being signed to press in Moscow with the item headlined "Gas on Way to Armenia" the information was already out of date: Gas simply did not arrive in Armenia.

And yet the information conveyed to the newspaper in the morning had been fully in accord with reality. The gate valves were actually opened at the gas compressor

station in Kazakhskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, in the morning. But by the afternoon they had been returned to the "off" position.

When I learned of this I immediately tried to ascertain the cause of such an abrupt turn of events. But not the Council of Ministers, "Armgaz," or any other department or organization of the republic could answer this. I managed to ascertain only that the gas pipeline had been shut down without any warning or explanation.

Tension Continues on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border

Yerevan Scores NKAO Reports

NC1209130690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has deteriorated. This is the headline of a joint AZERINFORM-TASS report received on the telex today which is likely to be published in the central and Azerbaijani press.

We warn our listeners not to be fooled suddenly by such a great lie and deceit.

Who is exacerbating the situation? If the source of the news is the joint report by AZERINFORM and TASS, the culprits are the Armenian militants and young hooligans who do not (?respect) the authorities—the Azerbaijanis. Armenian militants and young hooligans reportedly occupied the district Communist Party committees in the district centers of Askeran, Gadrut, and Martuni and turned these buildings into bases for the fight against the authorities and the republican bodies. But nothing has been said about why they occupied their own Communist Party committees.

Interior Troops detained 19 militants. But why was this necessary? In order to justify their own crimes.

The border villages in the mountains in the Zangelan, Lachin, and Kelbadzhar Districts are under constant fire by Armenian militants. Injuries, hooligan attacks, and other provocative acts against the staffs of the military commandant's offices compel servicemen to retaliate.

How overtly impudent can one be? They themselves attack Armenian areas and then tell the soldiers to retaliate against the Armenians in self-defense.

In the view of the [word indistinct] committee, all these illegal acts are being directed and dictated by the leaders of the Karabakhian Movement, who have not responded to any calls.

One can understand what the news sources and their (?mentors) want to achieve by disseminating such news.

Oslo Paper Cites Ter-Petrosyan

PM1309091090 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Sep 90 p 11

[NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA report on interview with Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan: "An Independent Armenia Is a Realistic Option"]

[Text] Yerevan—Ter-Petrosyan believes that the weakened power of the Kremlin and the increased self-government of the republics strengthens the possibility of a political solution to the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. In December 1988 he was arrested for nationalist activities, while the earthquake disaster in Armenia held the attention of the whole world. Five weeks ago he became chairman of the Supreme Soviet after the Armenian nationalist movement drove the Communist Party into a corner in the republic's first free elections.

NORSK TELEGRAMBYRA met the 45-year-old Ter-Petrosyan, a leading philologist and linguistic researcher, in connection with the meeting in Yerevan at the weekend between the Supreme Soviet chairman and Norwegian Storting President Jo Benkow and the Norwegian Red Cross leadership.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan is one of the many intellectuals who through the struggle for democracy and national independence has gone straight to the top in East European politics. The career of Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, a music professor, is a clear parallel. One is also reminded of Vaclav Havel's road from prison to the presidential palace in Czechoslovakia.

Under Ter-Petrosyan's leadership the Armenian Supreme Soviet recently passed a declaration of the republic's independence.

"The declaration means full independence for Armenia. It does not mean splitting from the Soviet Union at the present time, but we are free to choose. If we continue as a republic within the Soviet Union, it will not be on Moscow's orders, but because we think it is to the people's advantage. Full secession is a realistic possibility, but would require diplomatic solutions and satisfactory economic and political agreements with our neighbors," Ter-Petrosyan said.

Armenia's nearest neighbors are Turkey, Iran, and the Soviet republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Of these it is only Georgia with which the Armenians have traditionally had close relations, but Ter-Petrosyan wants to develop and improve relations with Turkey, Iran, and also with archenemy Azerbaijan.

One of the immediate results of the declaration of independence is that Armenian law takes precedence over Soviet law in the republic. Ter-Petrosyan described the central authorities in the Kremlin as a colossus with less and less power.

"The Supreme Soviet adopts laws daily and every day reaches decisions which no one follows. The Soviet Constitution is not being followed in any of the republics, which are increasingly being ruled by their own laws. Nor have the Soviet authorities been able to prevent violations and hostilities between republics. If a new Union treaty on the relationship between republics is to have any meaning, there must be provisions for punitive measures against republics which break the law," he said.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan has demonstrated strength and leadership qualities in his first few weeks as Armenia's most prominent politician. At the end of August Armenian police and security forces succeeded overnight in gaining control over the largest of the militia groups which have been engaging in their private civil war on the border with Azerbaijan and carrying out terrorist actions against elected Armenian representatives in Yerevan.

"Armenian forces now have full military control on the republic's territory, and there is every indication that the people have full confidence in our legitimate authorities. The so-called Armenian National Army (ANA) has agreed to disband and several of its leaders have been arrested. We have shown that we can handle the problems without the intervention of Soviet forces," Ter-Petrosyan said.

Nevertheless he admitted that only a small proportion of the militia's arms have been handed over to the authorities, and said that the many small semimilitary groups have an estimated 5,000 members. The situation in Yerevan and the rest of Armenia is now calm on the surface, and the military presence is not very apparent. Ter-Petrosyan said that all Soviet forces have been withdrawn since the summer's unrest. The armed clashes along the border with Azerbaijan also seem to have ceased—for the time being at least.

For almost two years Christian Armenia and Muslim Azerbaijan have been on the verge of civil war because of the conflict over the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan and the massacres of Armenians in Baku and Sumgait. Hundreds of people have been killed in Nagorno-Karabakh, in Azerbaijani towns, and in the border areas where in the last few months Armenian defense groups have been engaged in their own arbitrary war on Azerbaijanis.

One of Azerbaijan's weapons has been to stop important supplies to Armenia. Recently gas supplies to Armenia have been blocked. "We are hopeful that the gas blockade will end shortly, perhaps in as little as a few days," said Ter-Petrosyan, adding that there are contacts between the two republics over the problem. He himself has declared his willingness to negotiate directly with Azerbaijani leaders to find political solutions to the bitter conflict.

Even though Ter-Petrosyan has a background as a leader of the nationalist committee which is demanding full union between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, he appears more moderate and more willing to negotiate with Azerbaijan than the majority of Armenians. The man in the street would rather shoot at the Azerbaijanis than talk to them, and in the neighboring republic this hate is more than reciprocated.

"The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is not due to religious or ethnic differences or territorial claims, as the central authorities in Moscow are fond of presenting it. The problem is political. What is at stake is the right of nations to self-determination," the Supreme Soviet chairman said.

In his talks with Jo Benkow and the Red Cross delegation Ter-Petrosyan compared the desire in Nagorno-Karabakh for union with Armenia to Norway's desire in 1905 to end the union with Sweden.

Armenians Refuse To Disarm

LD1309095590 Moscow TASS in English 0925 GMT 13 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—With just one month left before the deadline for militant groups to disarm, Armenian militants continue to stage attacks on the security forces.

The disarmament was demanded in a decree by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

In Artashak District, militants opened fire on law enforcement officers, wounding one of them. One of the militants was killed and another wounded in the shootout. Two submachine guns and a pistol were confiscated.

On Thursday, an Army patrol was fired on from the territory of Armenia's Vardeni District. Militants from Armenia also attacked a post of Interior Ministry troops near the village of Yukhariy Ayrum, in Azerbaijan's Kelbadjar District.

Armenian law enforcement bodies continue to confiscate arms from militants, yet the latter still possess thousands of firearms.

"Illegal groups are being disarmed mainly by Armenian Interior Ministry Troops," Lieutenant General Ibcmris Smyslov, first deputy commander of Soviet Interior Ministry Troops, told TASS.

"Armenia's Interior Ministry Troops are obviously not enough. Besides, they have not yet recovered from militant attacks. If the disarmament keeps proceeding at such a pace, the Soviet president's decree will not be implemented in time," he said.

"Soviet Interior Ministry Troops are now practically not used to disarm illegal bandit groups, and without them the problem is difficult to solve. But this is the position of the Armenian leadership."

Azeri President Stresses Azeri Laws in NKAO

LD1209214490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent M. Mamedov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Mamedov] The Karabakh steppe is located in Bardinskiy Rayon, which borders on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The ripening of the cotton is two weeks behind schedule this season. For that reason, the farmers of the Moskva kolkhoz [collective farm] have just started to get their harvesting vehicles out.

Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party, did not manage to have a conversation with the farmers about the fate of the harvest. After all, they were more concerned with the questions: When will the attacks on Azeri villages by Armenian formations stop? When will peace and quiet eventually reign in Nagorno-Karabakh, and what is the republic's leadership doing to achieve that?

[Begin Mutalibov recording] We understand that there is an autonomous formation. There must be the appropriate authorities. But these authorities must understand that the autonomous entity forms part of the political and economic system and structure of Azerbaijan; that the autonomous entity is guided by the laws by which the whole Azeri people live. Attempts to fragment, attempts to resubordinate, attempts to disregard our laws will, naturally, encounter resistance from the Azeri people, as would happen with any other people if the situation were in a different place or in a different republic. [end recording]

Gamsakhurdia Cited on Georgian Political Scene

PM1309084690 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 9 Sep 90 p 23

[Interview with Georgian Helsinki Union leader Zviad Gamsakhurdia, by Javier Bernabe and Gabriel Gil in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] [DIARIO 16] Mr. Gamsakhurdia, what policy is pursued by the four parties at your negotiating table?

[Gamsakhurdia] Peaceful political struggle, civil disobedience, and forcing the government to hold free elections to elect a new Georgian parliament. The government is struggling against us. It has agents in the political movements and the mafia. There are political movements collaborating with the mafia and the government.

[DIARIO 16] When you say "mafia," do you mean the black market?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, this mafia works secretly, spreading terror, arming itself, and trying to create a civil war among the Georgians because it wants to prevent free elections.

[DIARIO 16] Are there problems among the opposition parties?

[Gamsakhurdia] The most representative section is within our negotiating table, but other parties such as the National Democratic Party and the Independence Party are within the mafia.

[DIARIO 16] What is your opinion of the Soviet Government?

[Gamsakhurdia] The Soviet empire is disintegrating. Gorbachev is trying to hold on to some republics, because the Ukraine has already declared its independence, and Russia, too. He must keep Armenia, Georgia, and others. Together with (USSR Foreign Minister) Shevardnadze, he is struggling to preserve the empire, although they talk about democratization.

[DIARIO 16] How do you view Gorbachev's role in the Soviet liberalization?

[Gamsakhurdia] It is good, but, as far as I am concerned, it does not exist. Neither I nor other political leaders can travel outside our republic, or even outside our city. We now have a terrible situation in which a civil war could develop at any time.

[DIARIO 16] Eduard Shevardnadze is a Georgian. What stance does he hold in this conflict?

[Gamsakhurdia] A very bad one. He knows of the existence of the mafia and of the armed gangs and is seeking to create a state of anarchy in order to facilitate Soviet military intervention and be elected president of Georgia.

[DIARIO 16] Is it true that the Soviet Government has sent irradiated meat and milk from Chernobyl?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes. They have been supplying contaminated foodstuffs, in clear biological warfare against the Georgian population. Moscow has done so deliberately.

[DIARIO 16] Why is your party outside the People's Front?

[Gamsakhurdia] It is a semicommunist organization, and we are seeking to put an end to communism. They have strong popular support, but most of their members are communists.

Georgian Popular Front's Natadze Interviewed

PM1209155090 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 9 Sep 90 p 23

[Interview with Georgian Popular Front leader Nodar Natadze, by Javier Bernabe and Gabriel Gil in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] [DIARIO 16] Mr. Natadze, within what ideology could the opposition parties be bracketed?

[Natadze] I have never been able to answer that question. There are no major ideological differences; the problem lies in the people: Some prefer to struggle for the cause of independence and others to found their own party.

[DIARIO 16] What religious influence is there in these parties?

[Natadze] I do not believe that there is any. Fortunately, there is a great religious upsurge, but there are no links between the political movements and religion.

[DIARIO 16] There was a great tragedy on Rustaveli Avenue 9 April last year when the Army charged demonstrators. What was the communist government's reaction?

[Natadze] A committee of inquiry, of which I am a member, was set up. Officially, it was said that only 16 people were killed and five died later. The unofficial figures are much higher; the highest is 138 dead. Many of the bodies were not found and others were mangled and unrecognizable. The KGB told the relatives: "If you want us to return the body, you must declare that they died in an accident."

[DIARIO 16] And what was the Soviet Government's reaction?

[Natadze] They stated that there were not many wounded, no officer fired on the children, and no general gave the order to charge the crowd—not even Gorbachev. One of the members of the committee of inquiry is General Georgadze, and he said: "There is only one man who could give that order to the Army; the commander in chief, the party secretary—that is, Gorbachev.

[DIARIO 16] What is your opinion of perestroyka and democratization?

[Natadze] Nobody who only makes promises can bring democracy. He is shamming democracy and the desire to be democratic. No communist can promote democracy, and in Russia that is impossible. The only reason why they are doing this is because they are not as strong as in the Stalin era. If they were, they would act in the same way as they did then.

[DIARIO 16] What prospects do you have of setting up an army of your own?

[Natadze] There is none, but we are struggling to create them. It would be the last thing that the Russians would accept. They would accept anything but that. The only force that keeps the colonial empire going is the Soviet Army.

Central Asia

Kazakh President Delivers Television Address

LD1109201590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1007 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Leila Tulebayeva]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 11 Sep (TASS)—Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, yesterday evening made a television address to the people of the republic.

He explained several provisions which the republic's government have submitted for the draft Union treaty. They make provision for the state sovereignty and economic independence of Kazakhstan. It is stressed that a reexamination of the principles of the national-state apparatus and the realization of fundamental economic reforms inevitably bring in their wake a withering away of the command and administrative system with its relentless diktat of the center and of official departments, its ideological narrowness and the standardization of national cultures.

The president dwelt in detail on the particularities of the transition to the market economy. It may prove to be impossible if new difficulties relating to the interethnic instability of society are added to those difficulties which already exist. The recent declarations by a number of unofficial movements regarding the reshaping of the republic's border and the evictions of people who have suffered so much before are disturbing. Plans to create social movements opposing one another according to nationality are maturing. In multiethnic Kazakhstan this could cause a schism in society.

The president announced that all demands, appeals and actions which violate constitutional norms will be stopped by law-enforcement agencies. The Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan must also speak authoritatively in defense of political and social stability. Decisions are needed which can reliably protect people from nationalist aspirations. He called on all Kazakhs to show great discipline in both the economic and moral spheres during this important period of transition to the market economy.

Kazakh President Urged To Act on Ethnic Discord

PM1209100390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin under "Direct Line" rubric: "Understandable Concern"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A. Garkavets, president of the association of Kazakhstan's national cultural centers, and the chairmen of 10 national cultural centers on the republic's territory have sent an open letter through the newspaper IZBIRATEL to President N.A. Nazarbayev of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. The authors of the

letter express profound concern at the unhealthy situation in some regions, which has been caused by interethnic discord.

The letter stresses that the events that have been observed are developing in line with a familiar scenario which has led to bloodshed in other republics: a common or garden-variety fight, then the confusion and indecision of the local authorities, and their inability to nip in the bud attempts to turn friction between individuals into interethnic conflict. "Unfortunately, some new social movements," the letter goes on to say, "are not only using democratic slogans as a cover for their attempts to play on people's heightened national self-awareness but are also exploiting this noble sentiment by skillfully using it to sow discord and division in the generally stable and calm atmosphere in the republic."

The authors of the open letter have asked N.A. Nazarbayev to use his high powers and authority as president to prevent unlawful actions.

New Interethnic Movement Formed in Kazakhstan

PM1209132590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Ardayev under "Direct Line" rubric: "'Yedinstvo' in Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The aim of the new "Yedinstvo" social movement is peace and harmony among all the peoples populating multiethnic Kazakhstan.

Thus it turned out that an ordinary party meeting with an agenda of "Problems of Interethnic Relations," which was being held at the "Almaatagiprotrans" Planning and Surveying Institute, was transformed into the constituent assembly of an international movement. Members of many of the republic capital's labor collectives took part in it. They expressed their anxiety with the same sharpness that relations between representatives of various nationalities have acquired today, and came to a conclusion about the need to consolidate forces in order to prevent further deterioration. Many people criticized the law on languages in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and certain other decisions adopted in the republic.

That is why the need also arose to establish an international movement which will carry out the policy of peace and harmony between all peoples. Representatives of various nationalities, including Kazakhs, have joined its ranks.

The "Azat" national movement and the "Yedinstvo" international movement have decided to coordinate their actions in order to prevent misunderstandings. Their first joint meeting is scheduled for next week.

Alma-Ata Russian Cultural Center Created

PM1209130190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by A. Zyryanov: "Russian Center in Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The "Russian Cultural Center" public organization has been created in Alma-Ata City. Its tasks include the propaganda of the Russian people's spiritual values and also the promotion of the enrichment of the national cultures of all nationalities and ethnic groups. The Russian cultural center in Alma-Ata City is supported by publications like SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA and others and asks for financial support from all those interested in the development of Russian culture in Kazakhstan.

Our account number is 3700448 at the oblast administration of the Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, Alma-Ata City, interbank transfer number 618016 code 501.

Declaration of Tajik SSR Sovereignty Published

90US1312A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 1

["Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Tajik SSR"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]:

profoundly aware of its historical responsibility for the fate of the Tajik people and their national statehood;

proceeding from the inalienable right of each people to self-determination;

recognizing that a free and equal association of Soviet nations within the framework of a renewed USSR guarantees their comprehensive development; and

affirming respect for the dignity and rights of peoples of all nationalities living in the Tajik SSR;

in order to guarantee for each individual the right to a life of dignity;

expressing the will of the people of the Tajik SSR;

solemnly proclaims the sovereignty of the Tajik SSR and states its resolve to create a democratic state based on the rule of law.

1. The Tajik SSR is a sovereign multinational state.

The state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR is expressed in the unity and supremacy of state power on all territory of the Tajik SSR and its independence in foreign relations.

2. Regardless of their nationality the citizens of the Tajik SSR make up the people of the Tajik SSR and are the bearers of the sovereignty and the sole source of state power in the republic. The people exercise state power

both directly and through representative organs on the basis of the Constitution of the Tajik SSR.

No political party, public or religious organization, mass movement, group of people, or individual person may act on behalf of the people of the Tajik SSR. This right belongs only to the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet.

3. State power in the Tajik SSR is exercised on the principle of the division of that power into legislative power, executive power, and judicial power.

4. On its own territory the Tajik SSR independently resolves all issues connected with political, economic, and sociocultural development except for those that will be voluntarily transferred to the USSR.

5. The supremacy of the Tajik SSR Constitution and the laws of the Tajik SSR is established on republic territory; the force of laws of the USSR that are at variance with the sovereign rights of the Tajik SSR may be suspended by the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet. Disagreements between the Tajik SSR and the USSR on the subject of the legality of legal enactments shall be resolved according to procedure established.

All citizens of the Tajik SSR, persons without citizenship, and state, public, and religious organizations will conduct their activities in accordance with the Tajik SSR Constitution and the laws of the Tajik SSR and shall enjoy the protection of the law.

The highest level of supervision with respect to exact and uniform compliance with laws on republic territory is exercised by the procurator of the Tajik SSR appointed by the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet. The procurator of the Tajik SSR is responsible to and subordinate to the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet.

6. The Tajik SSR recognizes and respects the sovereign rights of the USSR and the Union republics; it builds its mutual relations with them on the basis of treaties and agreements; it may have its own fully empowered representatives in other Union republics.

7. The Tajik SSR reserves to itself the right of free secession from the USSR in accordance with the procedure established by the Union treaty and legislation based on that treaty.

8. Within the Tajik SSR all political parties, public organizations, and mass movements operating within the framework of the Tajik SSR Constitution are equal, and conditions shall be created for them to participate in the management of state and public affairs.

9. Republic citizenship is established on the territory of the Tajik SSR. Each citizen of the Tajik SSR is simultaneously a citizen of the USSR.

10. The Tajik SSR guarantees all citizens and persons without citizenship living on the territory of the republic regardless of their origin, social and property position, racial and national affiliation, language, sex, political views, religious convictions, type and nature of employment, place of residence or other circumstances, all rights and freedoms as set forth in the Tajik SSR Constitution, the USSR Constitution, and the generally recognized standards of international law.

11. The territory of the Tajik SSR is inviolable and cannot be altered without the agreement of its people.

12. The Tajik SSR enjoys the exclusive right to own, use, and dispose of the republic's national wealth.

The land and its mineral resources and the natural resources of the republic are the exclusive property of the Tajik SSR.

13. The Tajik SSR forms specialized banks and independently determines financial, credit, and price policies.

14. The Tajik SSR guarantees the national-cultural revival of the Tajik people and their fine historical customs and traditions, and it also guarantees to all nationalities living on the territory of the republic their civic, political, and economic rights and their free national-cultural development.

15. The Tajik SSR engages in direct relations with foreign states, concludes treaties of an economic, cultural, and scientific and technical nature with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular, and trade representatives, and if need be takes part in the activity of international organizations.

16. The Tajik SSR is a supporter of the generally recognized principles and standards of international law and the resolution of all disagreements by political means, respects the laws, freedoms, and sovereignty of all peoples and countries, and strives to achieve friendship and brotherhood and further progress throughout the world.

17. The date of 14 October will be observed annually as the anniversary of the formation of the Tajik SSR and shall be a holiday.

18. The symbols of state sovereignty for the Tajik SSR—the state emblem, the flag, and the national anthem—are sacred and their inviolability is protected by law.

19. This Declaration is the basis for the new Constitution of the Tajik SSR and the conclusion of a Union treaty.

This Declaration adopted on 24 August 1990 at the second session of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, 12th Convocation.

Downpours, Irrigation Cause Mudflows in Turkmenia

PM1209155390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Volkov under the rubric "Details": "Mudflow Has Spread"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 10 Sep—Mudflows have inflicted blow after blow on the narrow strip of the cultivated zone in western Turkmenia. There is a single cause—unprecedented downpours in the Kopet-Dag Mountains.

"Old-timers observed something similar a quarter-century ago," R. Kurbanov, chairman of Kizyl-Arvat City Soviet Executive Committee, told me. "True, the elements have proved mightier now. According to the government commission's preliminary estimates, the damage to the city and its environs totals 3 million rubles [R], and it will take approximately R10 million to eliminate the aftermath."

Reconstruction work is now in full swing. The highway was repaired literally in a matter of hours, and freight is once again traveling along it from the center of Turkmenia to the west and back. The republic has asked the USSR Government for assistance: Powerful excavators, bulldozers, trucks, and construction materials are needed.

It is necessary to draw conclusions. Particularly as mudflows and floods are not such a rarity in the Black Sands. Minor ones occurred both last year and the year before last. With the arrival here of the Karakum Canal, the irrigation of hundreds of thousands of hectares of land, and the discharge of drainage water deep into the desert, the climate has changed. Underground water has also risen high. Specialists recognize that all this has contributed to a considerable increase in the zone liable to mudflows and to more devastating consequences of mudflow "attacks."

Independent Uzbek Trade Union Federation Set Up

LD1209184890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] A federation of independent trade unions has been set up in Uzbekistan. This decision was adopted at an extraordinary congress of the republic's trade unions which ended today in Tashkent. A decision was adopted to joint the country's trade union center, which the delegates see as a confederation of USSR trade unions.

Citizenship Law To Be Discussed in Uzbekistan

LD1209205490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 12 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Trina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent, 12 Sep (TASS)—A draft law on citizenship of the Uzbek SSR has been put forward here for discussion by all the people. Citizens of the republic, it stresses, are equal before the law irrespective of their origins, social status, nationality, attitude toward religion, or political beliefs, as well as of the length of time they have been resident in Uzbekistan. Their equality of rights is guaranteed in all areas of economic, political, social, and cultural life.

Citizens of the republic are simultaneously citizens of the USSR. When they receive their passport, they swear an oath on the Constitution of the republic.

Decisions on matters of citizenship in Uzbekistan are made by the president of the republic and by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Karakalpakiya (an autonomous republic in the north of the Uzbek SSR).